

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease *[Handwritten initials]*

FROM : M. A. Jones *[Handwritten initials]*

SUBJECT: *7/10* "MASTERS OF DECEIT"

DATE: September 15, 1958

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clayton \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten initials]*

Attached is a set of the ~~drafts of the newspaper syndication~~ of the above-captioned book. These drafts were originally submitted to the Bureau by ~~"King Features Syndicate."~~ We reviewed them and then marked directly on the copy our suggested changes. One set of the drafts, with our suggested changes, was then returned to "King Features Syndicate." The attached set represents the Bureau's copy of the original drafts as submitted by "King Features Syndicate" with our suggested changes. It is identical to the set returned to "King Features Syndicate."

### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached set of drafts of the newspaper syndicate of "Masters of Deceit" be filed.

*[Handwritten mark]*

Enclosures

FCS:blr *[Handwritten initials]*  
 (5)

REC-78 *62-104277-962*

EX. - 133

SEP 18 1958  
 18

3 ✓ ENCLOSURE *[Handwritten mark]*

REC-78  
 59 SEP 23 1958  
 EX. - 133

SEP 18 1958  
 CRIM. REC.  
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 1820

*St. Louis, Mo.*

Editors: The following is for use as a side-box with the first instalment of the serialization of J. Edgar Hoover's "Masters of Deceit." It is an introduction for the series from his preface to the book.

\* \* \*

Good

WHY I WROTE THE BOOK, MASTERS OF DECEIT

By J. Edgar Hoover,

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Every citizen has a duty to learn more about the menace that threatens his future, his home, his children, the peace of the world.

If you will take the time to inform yourself, you will find that communism holds no mysteries. Its leaders have blueprinted their objectives. The time is far too late not to recognize this "ism" for what it is: a threat to humanity and to each of us.

Moreover, there is the sobering fact that since the end of World War II we have spent billions of dollars to defend ourselves from communist aggression. This burden will continue to mount until the world is free from the communist menace.

In these chapters I will attempt to explain communism -- what it is, how it works, what its aims are, and, most important of all, what we need to know to combat it. I have been guided by many years of study and observation of the communist conspiracy in action in the United States.

International communism will never rest until the whole world, including the United States, is under the hammer and sickle. This is what has happened to the Russian people, now held in bondage, who would be free if they could. (I wish to distinguish between these unfortunate millions and the small clique of communist rulers of Soviet Russia.)

Communism is more than an economic, political, social, or philosophical doctrine. It is a way of life; a false, materialistic "religion." It would strip man of his belief in God, his heritage of freedom, his trust in love, justice, and mercy. Under communism, all would become, as so many already have, twentieth-century slaves.

Ever since 1917, I have observed the rise of international communism with great concern, particularly communist efforts to infiltrate and infect our American way of life. The Communist Party, USA, started in 1919 as a small, disorganized group of fanatics.

*See memo  
4/17/58*

62-104277-962 (MORE)

By J. Edgar Hoover

xx fanatics.

Today, it is a dedicated, conspiratorial group operating under modern conditions as an arm of revolution. There is no doubt that America is now the prime target of international communism.

The Communist Party, never forget, is a state within a state. It has its own system of "courts," legislative assemblies, schools, and press. It enforces its own laws, has its own standards of conduct, and offers its own road to Utopia. The Party member may physically reside in the United States, but he "lives" in a communist "world."

The Party, moreover, serves as a "transmission belt" whereby the Soviet mentality is being imposed, both directly and indirectly, on thousands of Americans. The Party's objective is to produce a "politically mature" comrade--"communist man"--who will work ceaselessly for the revolution that would make our United States part of the Soviet system.

I have deep faith in the American people and in our American way of life. But I know what communism could do to us. Not because it is stronger than we are; it is not. Not because it has something better to offer; it has not. But we may not learn until it is too late to recognize who the communists are, what they are doing, and what we ourselves, therefore, must do to defeat them.

It is my sincere hope that members of the Communist Party will take the time to read this--to see how, right before their eyes, the Party is deceiving them. As we know, many members, once awakened to the true nature of communism, have renounced the Party. By casting aside the communist spell, these men and women can do much to aid the cause of freedom.

Never has there been a time when we have so much need for one another. And we must never forget that if our government is to remain free, it needs the help of every patriotic man, woman, and child.

Thank God, there are millions of Americans who oppose communism. If we open our eyes, inform ourselves, and work together, we can keep our country free.

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FROM KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, 235 East 45th St., New York 17, N.Y.

FOR RELEASE IN EDITIONS DATED SUNDAY, APRIL 13, 1958

NOT TO BE QUOTED OR USED IN ANY FORM BY ANY PUBLICATION  
EXCEPT A NEWSPAPER AUTHORIZED TO SERIALIZE "MASTERS OF  
DECEIT." UNAUTHORIZED OR PREMATURE PUBLICATION MUST  
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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and  
How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

---

INSTALMENT ONE

By J. Edgar Hoover,

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Many Americans have not stopped to realize what a "Soviet  
America" would mean. The communists, however, have no doubts.  
Their blueprints are already made. So, let us look at their dream  
and see what it would mean to you and me.

In June, 1957, Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Communist Party  
boss, was interviewed before a nation-wide American television  
audience. With calm assurance he stated:

(MORE)

*see memo  
for file 11/7/58*

GOOD

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT ONE xx he stated:

...I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism. And please do not be afraid of that. Your grandchildren will...not understand how their grandparents did not understand the progressive nature of a socialist society.

William Z. Foster, <sup>long-time</sup> ~~former~~ National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, also reflected the hope that this nation will one day become communist when he stated in 1949, in dedicating his book, The Twilight of World Capitalism:

To My Great-Grandson Joseph Manley Kolko Who Will Live in a Communist United States.

These words of Russia's top Party boss and one of the highest-ranking communists in the United States reveal the nature of the enemy we face. To make the United States a communist nation is the ambition of every Party member, regardless of position or rank. He works constantly to make this dream a reality, to steal your rights, liberties, and property. Even though he lives in the United States, he is a supporter of a foreign power, espousing an alien line of thought. He is a conspirator against his country.

The communist is thinking in terms of now, in your lifetime.

Remember that within four decades communism, as a state power, has spread through roughly 40 per cent of the world's population and 25 per cent of the earth's surface. Some years ago communists were complaining that their "fatherland," Soviet Russia, was encircled, a communist island in a "capitalist" sea.

Today the situation is changed. The world communist movement is on the march, into Germany, the Balkans, the Middle East, stretching across the plains of Asia into China, Korea, and Indochina. Communists have never won over an entire country by a free election and have never hesitated to shed blood if this would best serve their purposes.

Moreover, in noncommunist countries thousands of Party members are working for Moscow. Communists firmly believe they are destined to conquer the world.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT ONE

xx world.

This belief is held in the United States too. A disciplined Party of hard-core fanatical members is now at work, with their fellow travelers, sympathizers, opportunists, and dupes. They want to add America to Soviet Russia's list of conquests.

In recent years there has been a tendency to discount the menace of domestic communists solely because of a decline in Party membership. In fact, some have gone so far as to say, "...the party... is almost over." Let's examine that statement:

In 1922, when Communist Party membership reached 12,400, William Z. Foster said, "...we no longer measure the importance of revolutionary organizations by size. In some places where there are only one or two men, more results are obtained than where they have larger organizations...."

This has been the communist line down through the years. Foster in 1951 stated, "Communist strength...cannot be measured even approximately by statistics...The Communist Parties' strength runs far beyond all formal measurements...." ✓

The Party's membership in this country reached a low in 1930 when it had 7500 members, and a peak 80,000 in 1944; its membership at five-year intervals since 1930 has been as follows: 1935--30,000; 1940--55,000 (a drop of 15,000 from 1939); 1945--64,600 (a drop of 15,400 from 1944); 1950--43,200; 1955--22,600; and by the summer of 1957 membership had further declined. → of ✓

However, over the years it has been estimated by the communist leaders themselves that for every Party member ten others are ready, willing, and able to do the Party's work.

Fluctuations in the American Party parallel those in foreign countries. The record clearly establishes that Communist Parties have the power of swift and solid growth when the opportunity arises:

In Italy, Party membership went from 6000 in 1943 to 2,500,000 in 1951; in France, from 20,000 in 1929 to 400,000 in 1956; in Syria, from 250 in 1931 to 10,000 in 1956; in Brazil, from 25,000 in late 1947 to 100,000 in 1956; and in Indonesia, from 30,000 in 1953 to 500,000 in 1956.

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When the Communist Party was at its peak in the United States it was stronger in numbers than the Soviet Party was at the time it seized power in Russia.

The size of the Party in the Soviet satellites at the time each came under Soviet control discloses how a well-organized band of revolutionaries can impose its rule over the majority population:

	Date of Communist Take-over	CP Membership on That Date	Population on That Date
BULGARIA	September, 1945	20,000	7,020,000
ROUMANIA	March, 1945	800,000	16,409,000
POLAND	January, 1949	1,000,000	25,225,000
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	May, 1948	1,329,000	12,338,000
HUNGARY	August, 1947	750,000	9,383,000
ALBANIA	December, 1945	12,000	1,120,000
YUGOSLAVIA	Mid-1945	141,000	14,500,000

Under communism, a tiny minority, perhaps ten to twenty men, would rule the United States. An open dictatorship called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" would be established. (One of the most fundamental of communist concepts, meaning the forcible dictatorship of the Communist Party ((conceived as the vanguard of workers)), whereby capitalist opposition is crushed after the seizure of power.) Communists, in all their teachings, make this point clear.

The capital city, as one communist leader pointed out, would be moved from Washington, D.C., to a large industrial center, probably Chicago. National as well as state and local governments would be eliminated. "Soviets" (meaning councils) would be formed throughout the nation. These would consist of local Communist Party henchmen who would depose and probably liquidate your mayor, chief of police, clergymen, and leading citizens.

The Constitution, and all our laws, would be abolished. If you owned productive property you would be arrested as an "exploiter," hauled before a revolutionary court, and sentenced to a concentration camp--that is, if you convinced the "judge" you were worth saving at all.

(MORE)

All property used in production would be confiscated. This confiscation would include your home, business, bank deposits, and related personal possessions. These would "belong to everybody."

The revolution would affect every man, woman, and child in America. Communists do not propose to remodel our government or retain any part of it. They would tear it to the ground, destroy all opposition, and then create a new government, an American province in the Soviet world empire. Their recipe for action? The 1917 Soviet revolution, tailored to modern conditions. The communists themselves have made the claim:

The principles upon which a Soviet America would be organized would be the same, in every respect, as those which guided the Soviet Union.

William Z. Foster, long-time head of the communist movement in our country, has boasted that the communist revolution, after the actual seizure of power, would "develop even more swiftly" than the Russian.

All industry would be nationalized and farms taken away from their owners. A small businessman is just as guilty as a large businessman; both must be liquidated. Rents, profits, and insurance would be abolished. Countless occupations, termed by the communists as "useless and parasitic," would be ended.

Here is a part of their list: wholesalers, jobbers, real estate men and stockbrokers, advertising specialists, traveling salesmen, lawyers, "whole rafts of government bureaucrats, police, clericals, and sundry capitalist quacks, fakers, and grafters."

The communists have a special disdain for lawyers. Perhaps it is because there will be no need for lawyers when there are no rights to defend. At any rate, Foster has said, "The pest of lawyers will be abolished."

Action would be drastic, immediate, and without appeal. An armed "Red Guard" would enforce the orders of Party henchmen. Hotels, country clubs, and swimming pools would be used for the benefit of "workers," meaning, in most cases, Party bosses.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALLMENT ONE

xx bosses.

The workingman in the mines, factories, and mills would be told to work certain hours for certain wages. Labor unions, as we know them, would be obliterated. All such organizations would be owned and operated by the communist government, and no laborer would be permitted to organize a union or to strike against his "government."

The press would be muzzled, free speech forbidden, and complete conformity demanded. If you expressed an opinion contrary to the Party line, you should have known better and your "disappearance" would serve as a lesson for others. Fear becomes an enforcement technique. Movies, radio, and television would be taken over by the government as agencies for government propaganda.

Churches would probably not be closed immediately, but they would be heavily taxed, their property seized by the state, and religious schools liquidated. Clergymen would be required to accept the Party line. "God does not exist. Why worship Him?" say the communists.

Children would be placed in nurseries and special indoctrination schools. Women, boast the communists, would be relieved of housework. How? Huge factory and apartment-house kitchens would be set up, so that women would be "free" to work in factories and mines along with the men.

This picture of a communist America is not overdrawn. Here are the words of William Z. Foster:

Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties--  
Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.--  
will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning  
alone as the Party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will  
be dissolved all other organizations that are political  
props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of com-  
merce, employers' associations, rotary clubs, American  
Legion, Y.M.C.A, and such fraternal orders as the Masons,  
Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc.

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Communism is many things: an economic system, a philosophy, a political creed, a psychological conditioning, an educational indoctrination, a directed way of life. Communists want to control everything: where you live, where you work, what you are paid, what you think, what streetcars you ride (or whether you walk), how your children are educated, what you may not and must read and write.

The most minute details, even the time your alarm clock goes off in the morning or the amount of cream in your coffee, are subjects for state supervision. They want to make a "communist man," a mechanical puppet, whom they can train to do as the Party desires. This is the ultimate, and tragic, aim of communism.

These statements are confirmed, day after day, by documented reports from areas where communists have already taken over: Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Red China, and other areas.

When you read such reports, do not think of them as something happening in a far-off land. Remember, always, that "it could happen here" and that there are thousands of people in this country now working in secret to make it happen here.

The Communist Party, USA, works day and night to further the communist plot in America. Virtually invisible to the non-communist eye, unhampered by time, distance, and legality, this Bolshevik transmission is in progress. The Communist Party, USA, is creating communist puppets throughout the country.

Party influence is exerted through the communist device of thought control (controlling, in various degrees, the thinking of many Americans). The communists quickly accuse anybody who disagrees with them of being guilty of thought control; it is a favorite communist expression. Yet this same technique, applied in varying degrees to different groups of our population, is the key to communist strength in America today.

The Party's objective is to drive a wedge, however slight, into as many minds as possible. That is why, in every conceivable way, communists try to poison our thinking about the issues of the day: social reforms, peace, politics, veterans', women's, and youth problems. The more people they can influence, the stronger they will be.

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## J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALLMENT ONE

xx be.

Top Party officials have a definite assignment: to capture positions of power. They are the Party's front-line commanders. Communism is at war with America. The United States is a vast battlefield. A school, a labor union, a civic group, a government official, a private citizen - all are important in the never-ending struggle for power.

The whole nation, to the communists, is a gigantic checkerboard. The communist high command is constantly moving, jumping, switching, and retreating to get communist members in positions of influence. They are outnumbered; they know that. That is why they must depend on skill, maneuvering, and deception.

The communist official in our country realizes that his supporters often form a motley collection, varying greatly in loyalty: some are fanatically loyal; others are half-timers or "single-nighters." Many are "tremblers," needing constant encouragement, whereas some are just victims unwittingly caught in the Party net.

But time after time the communists are able to weld these seemingly ill-assorted supporters into a unified instrument of power. They have succeeded in creating and dominating different areas of thought control. Each area contains supporters who, under Party guidance, can quickly and effectively be mobilized. The result of this manipulation, as applied to diverse personalities, groups, and issues, is a tribute to the communists' deceitful skill. By this technique, using its own membership as a base, the Party is today influencing literally thousands of Americans.

Reprinted from the book, "Masters of Deceit," by J. Edgar Hoover, published by Henry Holt & Co., Inc. Copyright (c) 1958, J. Edgar Hoover. All rights reserved. Distributed by King Features Syndicate.

How does the Communist Party, USA, make 'thought-control' work for it, and give it tremendous influence, through strategically and highly placed persons? J. Edgar Hoover explains, describing actual instances of 'thought-control' exerted by the Communist Party where it was not suspected by the general public, in the next installment of his own story of Communism in America and How to Fight it. You will not want to miss this key chapter of his book in tomorrow's (namepaper).

# # #

C  
O  
P  
Y

March 6, 1958

Mr. William E. Buckley  
Henry Holt & Co.  
383 Madison Ave.  
New York City

Dear Bill:

An important client editor feels that one paragraph in our serialization should be clarified, and we agree with him.

The paragraph is taken from page five of the book and appears in sheet three of the first instalment of our serialization.

We would like to make it the fourth paragraph in your page five and the seventh paragraph in our sheet three to read:

All the fluctuations in the membership of the Communist Party, USA, have had their parallels in Party memberships in other countries, ~~where the communists are now stronger than ever.~~ The record clearly shows x x x, etc.

As it stands, the paragraph is subject to misunderstanding, and the revision seems to give it emphasis.

Please submit this change for okeh.

Yours sincerely,

CLARK KINNAIRD

CK/g

Enc.

\* Of the Hoover book.

(no notation made on  
top of instalment # 1,  
attached).  
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FROM KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, 235 East 45th St., New York 17, N.Y.

FOR RELEASE IN EDITIONS DATED MONDAY, APRIL 14, 1958

NOT TO BE USED IN ANY FORM BY ANY PUBLICATION EXCEPT A NEWSPAPER AUTHORIZED TO SERIALIZE "MASTERS OF DECEIT." UNAUTHORIZED OR PREMATURE PUBLICATION MUST BE GUARDED AGAINST. PROTECTED FULLY BY COPYRIGHT.

(Second instalment. Editors: A side-box precede for this instalment will be found following the text.)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

INSTALMENT TWO

GOOD

There are five principal areas, or circles, of communist thought control that should be thoroughly understood. These are the keys to communist mobilization to achieve control of the United States.

First: "Open" Party Members. The area of highest thought control, which is the core of communist strength, is the Party membership. These individuals, after indoctrination, become full-fledged revolutionaries.

The Party member must be completely obedient; that is the hallmark of Party life. Very clearly, he is a tool of the Party.

Party policy is built around Party membership. The trained member is one on whom the Party depends to commit espionage, derail a speeding train, and organize riots. If asked, gun in hand, to assault the Capitol of the United States, he will be expected to obey. These members are today working to promote a Soviet America: some in undercover assignments, some in communist-front organizations, others as Party officials. They are the offensive shock troops - confidently expecting that the precise moment will arrive when conditions will make feasible the revolutionary overthrow of our government.

If the Party desires to undertake a certain task, Party members, seen or unseen, will be the leaders. Suppose that a communist front is to be started; that is, an organization <sup>which is to be maintained</sup> that supports some area of communist policy. A communist sympathizer may be named president, but a Party member will probably be executive secretary, placed there to control policies. Or suppose a giant rally for "peace" is to be held. The platform will glitter with noncommunists. But a communist member on hand will control the agenda.

(MORE)

See how little we know

INSTALMENT TWO - J. EDGAR HOOVER

XX agenda.

The strength of this inner circle, the real backbone of communist striking power, lies not in numbers, but in organized deception. Following Lenin's teachings, the Party is a small, compact, and highly mobile group that can strike quickly with great fury, often achieving objectives unwarranted by its numbers. Today's membership is hard, well trained, and disciplined. The weak, faint-hearted, and skeptical have been purged. Those who remain faithful to the Party are dedicated to the communist revolution. They are willing to sacrifice everything for it. Here is an actual case:

A Party member was given a special assignment. The first step was to drop everything and go into hiding. That was all he was told. He obeyed. He took another name, moved away. Time passed. The children began to ask, "Where is Daddy?" The mother's answer: "He is dead. You don't have a daddy!"

This is the fanaticism of the trained member.

To be obedient, however, is not enough. This select group of Party members must be made superobedient, meaning subservient beyond the hope of return. They must be constantly whipped into a state of frenzied enthusiasm and never allowed to relax. Some Party members are old-timers; others are new recruits. All of them grew up in capitalist society. Many still show the effects of their "enemy upbringing," especially the younger ones. That is why they slacken once in a while. They think for themselves; they put self before Party. These instincts must be pounded out and communist thoughts instilled. Communists are not born; they are made. For example:

A Party leader in the Deep South was angry. He was talking to a member who had "slipped" a little. This individual was not giving his best effort to the Party, although he had been in the Party for twelve years and had fought in Spain with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

"Work harder for the Party," was the leader's theme. "You've got to give more time to the Party than you're doing now."

"And starve," answered the other man. "I've got to keep my job. I can't make a living just doing Party work."

"Let your wife work," retorted the official. "That'll hold you for a while, or borrow money if need be."

(MORE)

"But she can't make enough. Besides, she wants to keep house."

"She's a drawback," flashed the leader, "a definite hindrance. What are you going to do, stand up for the Party or your wife?"

The question was direct. The individual answered, "What do you want me to do? Divorce my wife?"

"If your marriage is such that you can't work for the Party," came the reply, "I'd seriously consider divorce."

The communist leader rammed home his point. "I'm working all the time, so much that I can hardly sleep nights. You can't allow personal problems to take your mind off the Party. You've got to fight that kind of pressure. Your allegiance to the Party comes first. I never let my wife interfere. She knows her place."

Second: Concealed Party Members. Another area dominated by communist thought control consists of the concealed communist, the individual who, though accepting Party discipline, does not wish his affiliation to be publicly known. The concealed communist, because he is not known as a communist, can often advance the Party's cause among people and in organizations where an open member would be scorned.

Concealed communists are found in all fields. They may be enrolled members, although secretly and usually under an alias or assumed name; or their names may never appear on official rolls. It does not matter. They are equally as dangerous as the open member, if not more so. They are difficult to identify and, being concealed, can operate freely in noncommunist groups.

A physician, a lawyer, an educator, a personnel manager in a business firm, a television script writer--each may be a concealed communist of great value to the Party. Suppose that a Party member is in hiding. He becomes ill. The doctor, a concealed communist, is called. He can be trusted. Or a study group is formed on a campus. The professor "guides" the discussion and subtly engenders communist doctrine. A personnel manager hires communist sympathizers, working them into key positions. Here is an example of how the system works:

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWO - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx works.

Two men huddle in conversation. One is a top Party official; the other, a high-ranking labor union leader who is a concealed communist, although his union has since ousted him from his post.

The national convention of the union is about to open in Philadelphia, Penna. The Party official is issuing instructions. Support this, support that. He talks in great detail, laying down the over-all Party policy. Then he becomes more specific, even going so far as to dictate the wording of resolutions, suggesting the order of convention business, and advising how certain personalities should be handled. Nothing is to be left to chance.

The union leader listens. He can go on the convention floor, since nobody knows that he is under Party discipline and carry out the communist program.

Another concealed member of the Party was the editor-in-chief of a conservative book-publishing house. This editor, having an excellent educational background, was highly regarded by his company. On one occasion, after this publishing house had been criticized by a newspaper columnist for publishing procommunist books, the president discussed the problem at a meeting of the board of directors. He reported that he had asked the editor if, in fact, he was a member of the Communist Party. The editor entered an emphatic denial. The president then advised the board that since the editor was a gentleman, the allegations that he was a communist were false.

The president of the publishing house simply did not know the facts. The editor's usual procedure was to have the manuscript of a communist author submitted directly to him on a personal basis. He would review it, be sure it was in publishable form, then have the author submit it to the publishing house through routine channels. Receiving the manuscript later through the company, he would recommend its publication. Through this technique, the editor was eminently successful in circulating communist literature.

When noncommunist authors complained and several terminated their relations with the publisher, the editor was later quietly eased out of his job.

(MORE)



There are occasions when a member of the Party will drop his open Party activities, move to another section of the country, and become a secret, concealed member. Such was the case of a talented young man who became active in the Communist Party in New York City before World War II when he was employed by a motion-picture company. After work he functioned as a Communist Party organizer, later as a membership director of a Party club, and, for a while, worked on the paid staff of the American Labor Party. In the meantime he obtained a job in television and in 1953 became program director of a television station in a large Southern city.

Soon after his arrival in the Southern city, the TV program director started to meet secretly with the Party's "white-collar" professional group. Word came through that he should sever even these connections. A Party functionary said, "We want them (him and his wife) to be secure for the Party." He was too valuable a member to be compromised. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, however, uncovered the white-collar professional cell, and when the TV director declined to answer Committee questions, he was promptly fired by his employer.

Third: Fellow Travelers. The third area in which communist thought control works is that of the fellow traveler and sympathizer. These two terms are distinct but related. The fellow traveler, while not a member, actively supports (travels with) the Party's program for a period of time. The sympathizer is more passive, sympathizing with the Party or individual members on specific issues, and may or may not give active aid. These individuals are not Party members, but, in some degree, have come under Party control.

This control is sufficient to make them work willingly for the Party. Many consistently follow the Party line, even maintaining personal contacts with Communist Party officials. Others, the so-called "intellectuals," may never have attended a communist meeting and may know nothing about Party organization. Yet, because of the spell of communist thought control, they knowingly do the Party's work.

The other principal areas, or circles, of communist thought-control in the United States that should be understood, will be explained next.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWO - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

XX next.

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Instances of how "By allowing themselves to be used as tools, fellow travelers and Party sympathizers have immeasurably advanced the communist cause," are cited by J. Edgar Hoover in the following instalment of Masters of Deceit. He draws attention to how one national "civil liberties" committee of educators, clergymen and members of other professions was exploited secretly by the Party. "This trick has worked time after time and is still working today," he continues.

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Editors: Suggested side-box precede for second instalment of the J. Edgar Hoover story follows:

Regardless of figures purporting to show that the membership and influence of the Communist Party, U.S.A. is in decline, and the impression that Communists themselves are endeavoring to create by devious means, the danger to the United States from master Red plotters, of hidden infiltrators or invaders, is as great as ever, it is declared by the man in the best position to know, J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI since 1924.

In opening chapters of his best seller new book, Masters of Deceit, Mr. Hoover traces the origins of the Communist world-wide conspiracy, and tells of his early observations of the Communist Party, U.S.A., beginning in 1919, when as Special Assistant to the Attorney-General of U.S., he was assigned to prepare a legal brief on the new formed Communist Party and Communist Labor Party.

In yesterday's instalment of this first serialization of portions of the book bringing the story up to today, the FBI chief detailed the blueprint drawn up by Communists for the conquest of the U.S. from within, and reminded readers of the boast made to Americans in <sup>JUNE</sup> ~~July~~ 1957 by the Soviet Communist boss, Nikita Khrushchev, "I can prophecy <sup>S/</sup> that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism."

Mr. Hoover ~~quoted authoritative figures to show that the open~~ <sup>pointed out</sup> membership of the Communist Party, U.S.A., has been stronger in numbers than the Eolshevik Party was at the time it seized power in Russia, ~~and that 141,000 Communist Party members were enough to~~ <sup>open</sup> overwhelm the more than fourteen million people of Jugoslavia.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWO - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER XX Jugoslavia.

William Z. Foster, long-time head of the communist movement in the United States, has boasted that the communist revolution, after the actual seizure of power, would "develop even more swiftly" than the Russian.

Mr. Hoover continues today a revealing, startling description of how Communists are working through persons placed secretly in high places, and aided by fellow travelers, to try to make Foster's words come true. (END PRECEDE)

# # #

FS/MF

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY

*FIRST*  
Communism in America Today and How  
to Fight It

~~Third~~ serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Good

The danger to the United States from master Red plotters, of hidden infiltrators and fellow travelers, is as great as ever, it is emphasized by the man in the best position to know, J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI since 1924.

In opening chapters of his best seller new book, Masters of Deceit, Mr. Hoover traces the origins of the Communist world-wide conspiracy, and tells of his early observations of the Communist Party, U.S.A., beginning in 1919, when as Special Assistant to the Attorney-General of U.S., he was assigned to prepare a legal brief on the new formed Communist Party and Communist Labor Party.

In preceding instalments of this first serialization of portions of the book bringing the story up to today, the FBI chief detailed the blueprint drawn up by Communists for the conquest of the U.S. from within, and reminded readers of the boast made to Americans in July 1957 by the Soviet Communist boss, Nikita Khrushchev, "I can prophecy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism," and of the repeated forecast of William Z. Foster, the long-time head of the Communist movement in the United States, that the communist revolution, after the actual seizure of power, would "develop even more swiftly" than the Russian. The Bolshevik dictatorship was imposed by a very small minority upon Russia's many millions of people.

✓  
JUNE  
✓

Mr. Hoover continues today his revealing and startling description of how communists are working today through persons placed secretly in high places, fellow travelers and sympathizers, to make the Khrushchev and Foster forecasts come true.

*See fascist Negro memo 1/17/58*

INSTALMENT THREE

The value of fellow travelers and sympathizers to the Communist Party lies in their unapparent noncommunist affiliation. That is why, in most instances, communist leaders do not attempt to recruit them into the Party. They are more valuable outside: as

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(MORE)

INSTALMENT THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx as

financial contributors, vocal mouthpieces, or contacts between Party officials and non-communists. They constitute, in fact, fronts for, and defenders of, the Communist Party.

The role these individuals can play for the communists is clearly illustrated in front organizations, where they serve as sponsors or officials. Behind the scenes is a communist manipulator. Consider, for example, one such organization. In October, 1951, the Daily Worker announced the formation of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee with one hundred fifty founders (from thirty-nine states), including fifty who were educators, clergymen, and professionals.

One of the Committee's first official moves was to petition the New York State Commissioner of Education to "forbid the New York City Board of Education from enforcing its newly-enacted ban on suspected communist teachers..." Gradually, as the old Civil Rights Congress, a well-known front, became discredited, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee took over its work. In 1956 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, after identifying the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, stated, "When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection." ✓ X

The names of the group's one hundred fifty founders have been exploited by the Party to fight its battles.

To make a known Party member the president of a front would immediately label it as "communist." But if a sympathizer can be installed, especially a man of prominence, such as an educator, minister, or scientist, the group can operate as an "independent" organization. This trick has worked time after time and is still working today. By allowing themselves to be used as tools, fellow travelers and sympathizers have immeasurably advanced the communist cause.

Of particular interest to the communists is the influence of fellow travelers and sympathizers in the "thought-molding" field: teachers, script writers, newspapermen, news analysts. If these individuals can be subjected to the slightest bit of communist thought control, the Party will have won a major victory.

One individual in New York City, for example, once occupied an important role as a news commentator and author. His views were consistently procommunist. He represented himself as an authority on international affairs. He claimed to have talked personally to many

(more)

INSTALMENT THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx many

of the world's leaders. Just as the communists would want, everywhere he went he built himself up as an individual who could give the American people guidance in their thinking.

This commentator was simply irreplaceable in the communist scheme. No open communist could discuss current events before lecture audiences, behind the microphone, or through the written word with this sympathizer's degree of "objectivity" and "independence." He was able to fool many noncommunists and exert considerable influence. His lecture tours were often arranged by communist-front groups. A concealed communist contributed money to his expenses. Wherever this "world observer" went, he preached communist-line and pro-Soviet propaganda. When his influence began to slip, he then changed his ways and sought his livelihood elsewhere.

Men and women of this caliber can do much to bring others into the communist thought-control net. No wonder the Party works to support them.

Another group that falls, on occasion, under communist thought control consists of opportunists, individuals who, if they can benefit personally, will knowingly support the Party in return for support or favors from it.

In a large Midwestern city a noncommunist labor leader had aspirations to become president of a union council. A group of communists, opposed to the then president, decided that this labor leader could be controlled. They drafted him as a candidate and, of course, on the election slate placed also some Party members. The labor leader won the election, and so did the communists, because they gained a man over whom they had a hold and whom they could therefore expect to use.

The opportunist was then pushed into various front organizations: he was put on the board of a communist-sponsored school; designated as a delegate to a convention of a front group; enlisted to join a campaign to oppose the "anticommunist clause" in a statewide labor convention. He was besieged constantly to "do this" and "help us." His value to the Party was shown, for example, when, even though he refused on a certain occasion to cooperate with a Party front, his position was defended by the Party. The opportunist, in the Party's eyes, was more important to it as a labor leader than as a supporter of the front.

(more)

INSTALMENT THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx front.

For some time the deal paid off. The opportunist received the prestige and the communists had a champion. Then things began to change. The opportunist had his own ideas and ceased to follow the Party lead. Relations became strained. When the communists wanted the city-wide council to endorse a well-known comrade as a candidate for the board of education, they brought up the motion at a meeting when the opportunist was absent. The communist candidate was endorsed. That was too much for the opportunist, who promptly issued a public statement denying that he was backing the communist candidate. A special meeting of the council was called to reconsider its action.

The communists now moved into high gear. Word went out that the opportunist would have to be "put in his place" for publicly denouncing the communist candidate. At a special meeting the opportunist took the floor and successfully led the fight to reverse the council's endorsement of a communist. The communists were bitter in their condemnation of their onetime protege; he was a "traitor" and a "hypocrite." Deciding he had had enough, the opportunist resigned the presidency.

A tragedy of the past generation in the United States is that so many persons, including high-ranking statesmen, public officials, educators, ministers of the gospel, professional men, have been duped into helping communism. Communist leaders have proclaimed that communism must be partly built with noncommunist hands, and this, to a large extent, is true.

Communist propaganda is tailored to attract noncommunists. Communism offers a bogus "spiritual appeal," a "Kingdom of God on earth." Its tactics and strategy are covered with attractive, appealing words, such as "freedom," "justice," and "equality." The communists claim they are working for a "better world."

Many well-meaning citizens, attracted by these words and not seeing behind the communist intentions, have been swept into the communist thought-control net.

"Fool the noncommunists!" That is the slogan. And, time after time, in almost unbelievable fashion, victims, somehow or other under communist thought control, do communism's work: signing communist election petitions, contributing time or money to

(MORE)

INSTALMENT THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx to

communist fronts, issuing statements in support of communist-sponsored campaigns.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, quite recently was a candidate for the New York City Council under the emblem of the People's Rights Party. Communists canvassed to obtain at least 3000 signatures on petitions required by law to place her name on the ballot. They went over the goal with the help of noncommunists. In the Nov. 5, 1957, election, however, Flynn received fewer than 1000 votes.

The People's Rights Party is a sham political party created to give the Communist Party the legal right to run communist candidates. In 1946, 1952, 1954, and again in 1957 communist candidates have run for municipal, state, or national office in New York City under the banner of the People's Rights Party. Each time signatures had to be obtained to secure the right of the PRP to place its candidates on the ballot.

Another instance of Party manipulation to gain the support of noncommunists was the campaign in the summer of 1957 to solicit signatures for petitions opposing the further testing of nuclear weapons by the United States government. Most of these signatures, of course, were those of noncommunists. On this issue the Party was slavishly following the line of international communism. Communist strategy is to provide the leadership, encouraging noncommunists to do the work.

Not that these individuals are communists. The great majority of them are loyal, but deceived, citizens. Sending five dollars to a front organization with a patriotic-sounding name; signing a communist-inspired petition urging "world disarmament" (isn't that a worthy cause?); attending a giant Party-manipulated rally in support of the "Bill of Rights": the noncommunist does not realize these campaigns are being operated out of downtown communist headquarters. He is fooled because he believes in the aims they profess and does not recognize the hidden motive.

Party officials, like fishermen, are constantly watching their "nets" to see what the fishing will bring. Each day, unfortunately, communist thought-control nets, sweeping through American life, catch new supporters, new members, several sympathizers, an opportunist,

(MORE)



INSTALMENT THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx opportunist,

many victims. The strength of the Communist Party depends, at any given time, on the number of fish in the net.

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How can Americans protect themselves from becoming victims of the communists in this country? J. Edgar Hoover says: "First, we should not fall for 'front' organizations. Second, we should know how to spot and to answer the false claims United States communists use to disarm and confuse Americans." Mr. Hoover cites some communist lies in continuing his own story of communism in this country, tomorrow, in (name paper).

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

Good

(precede)

Nikita Khrushchev boasted in June 1957, in remarks addressed to the people of the United States, "I can prophesy that your grand-children <sup>in America</sup> will live under socialism." William Z. Foster, who has remained Communist Party, USA, leader through repeated "purges" of the "deviationists" ~~suspected of trying to make the Party less Russian and more American,~~ <sup>one of his</sup> dedicated ~~his latest book~~ to his great-grandson, "who will live in a communist United States."

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Foster subscribes to the communist claim that "The principles upon which a Soviet America would be organized would be the same, in every respect, as those which guided the Soviet Union," and he particularizes, "Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties-- Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.--will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the Party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, Rotary clubs, American Legion, Y.M.C.A. and such fraternal orders as <sup>the</sup> Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc."

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While the "open" membership of the Communist Party, USA, today may be smaller than previously, as claimed, this is not significant-- we have the word of Foster for that. "Communist strength...cannot be measured even approximately by statistics...The Communist Party <sup>is</sup> strength runs far beyond all formal measurements," he declared. Earlier, Foster said, "We no longer measure the importance of revolutionary organizations by size. In some places where there are only one or two men, more results are obtained than <sup>when they have</sup> ~~when there are~~ larger organizations."

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In previous instalments of this first serialization of his bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," J. Edgar Hoover explained

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT FOUR

xx explained

reasons why <sup>this</sup> the Foster statement is true, one reason being the ~~influence of~~ <sup>influence of</sup> ~~the many coverable Party~~ ~~counted number of Communist "underground"~~ members, and another the existence of large bodies of fellow-travelers or sympathizers with communists, and of countless dupes led by communists to join or support "front" organizations. He explained how these persons were enlisted by the communists operating both above and underground, in their relentless conspiracy.

"Each day, unfortunately, communist thought-control nets, sweeping through American life, catch new supporters, new members, several sympathizers, an opportunist, many victims. The strength of the Communist Party depends, at any given time, on the number of fish in the net," Mr. Hoover concluded yesterday's instalment. He, the man in the best position to know, declared that the danger to the United States from hidden invaders or infiltrators, is as great as ever.

In today's instalment, he discusses the most deceptive of the lures with which communists have caught unwitting American "fish" in their net.

(end precede)

## MASTERS OF DECEIT

Instalment Four

By J. Edgar Hoover,

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

One of the chief strengths of the Communist Party has been its ability to appeal, by trickery, to many Americans who are sincere, idealistic, and well-meaning.

Let us consider five of the most deceptive claims made by the Communist Party, USA, in its effort to lure "innocent victims."

Let's see what communists pretend to be and what they really are:

1. It is claimed that communists are liberals. The concept that communism is a new world of liberalism is false, a trap used to catch noncommunists. The word "liberal" has a fine, upright meaning and is symbolic of a great historic tradition. That is why the communists appropriate the term for their own use.

Communism is the very opposite of liberalism. Liberalism stands for increased rights for the citizen; a curb on the powers of the central government; freedom of speech, religion, and the press. Communism means fewer and fewer rights for the private citizen, curtailment of freedom of speech and press and worship of God.

(more)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT FOUR

xx God.

The communist state becomes all-powerful, the absolute reverse of American tradition.

Communists do not like the genuine liberalism of Western civilization. They denounce liberals ("liberal blockheads" Lenin called them) and attempt by every means to destroy them. The communists realize that true liberalism is a bitter enemy, a fighter for the things that communism opposes.

Liberals do not want revolution but genuine social reforms. That is why the communists detest them. But if liberals can be exploited, so much the better. Like everybody else, they are fuel for the communist engine of revolution.

It is claimed communists are progressives.  
2./"We of the Communist Party are fully and completely in the camp of progress..." A prime tenet of communist propoganda is that communism is the latest word in social progress. All other forms of government, especially our constitutional government, according to the communists are outmoded, old-fashioned, and antique. Communism is the wave of the future, they like to say, bringing all the good things that man has been dreaming about for years. Religion, the "opium" of the people, must be destroyed, God cast out, and the "oppressors" liquidated. The road ahead is clear. Join the Communist Party and see "progress." Those who do not join are "reactionaries," "fascists," and "armongers."

Everybody likes progress. If you are a farmer, you want to grow better corn and more of it. If you have a lawn, you want to weed out the dandelions and have better grass. If you are a manufacturer, you want to develop a better product. This is a natural human trait. The communists, identifying themselves with this idea, have convinced many people that they are the "progressives" of the twentieth century.

The exact opposite is true. The individual under communism is a mere number with two shoulders to carry a bale of hay or a couple of feed sacks, two hands to pull a wagon or drive a tractor. This is not progress but a turning backward, throwing away the fruits of history, religion, and free government.

3. It is claimed communists are social reformers working for the betterment of living conditions. "The Communist Party...champions the...interests of the workers, farmers, the Negro people and all

(more)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT FOUR

xx all

others who labor by hand and brain..." This theme, here quoted from the 1957 Party Constitution, is exploited time after time, hoping to attract noncommunist support.

The communists detest democratic reforms. These changes, they know, will make free government stronger, hence less likely to be overthrown by revolution. Their espousal of reforms (higher wages, better working conditions, elimination of racial discrimination) is strictly a revolutionary tactic.

That communism, by such mass agitation, might gradually change to democracy is a false and dangerous illusion. Communism's goal is world revolution. Any device that will advance its cause is urgently pursued.

Lenin himself was frank:

"The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to 'tack,' to make agreements, zigzags, retreats and so on..."

4. It is claimed communists believe in democracy. Communist leaders of all ranks, from N. S. Khrushchev to William Z. Foster, from Lenin to the lowest-ranking communist agitator, have proclaimed that communism is the most highly developed form of democracy. Lenin stated that the Soviet Union was "a million times more democratic" than the most advanced capitalist democracies of the West. William Z. Foster, the longtime Communist Party, USA, leader in an official statement commented, "The Communist Party is a democratic movement," and added:

"In the Soviet Union...there exists a higher type of democracy than in any other country in the world."

This is a communist deceptive device to fool noncommunists, encouraging them to believe that communism stands for something desirable.

The word "democracy" is one of the communists' favorite terms. They say they favor democracy, that communism will bring the fullest democracy in the history of mankind. But, to the communists, democracy does not mean free speech, free elections, or the right of minorities to exist. Democracy means the domination of the communist state, the complete supremacy of the Party. The greater the

(more)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT FOUR xx the  
 communist control, the more "democracy." "Full democracy," to the  
 communist, will come only when all noncommunist opposition is liqui-  
 dated.

Such expressions as "democracy," "equality," "freedom," and  
 "justice" are merely the Party's devices to impress noncommunists.  
 Communists are masters at getting other people to do their work.  
 They clothe themselves with everything good, noble, and inspiring  
 to exploit these ideals to their own advantage.

(5) It is claimed that communists are American. The Communist  
 Party, USA, endeavors, in every possible way, to convince noncommu-  
 nists in the United States that it is American. "The Communist Party  
 is American," one of its top leaders recently proclaimed. "...We take  
 second place to nobody in our devotion to the United States and its  
 people."

This is<sup>a</sup> typical communist tactic. Communism stands for every-  
 thing Americans and other free peoples abhor: slave camps, rigged  
 elections, purges, dictatorship. The communist movement was born in  
 Europe, was imported into the United States, and grew up under the  
 personal direction of Russian leaders in Moscow. How can communism  
 be American when it employs every form of treason and trickery to  
 bring about ultimate domination of the United States by a foreign  
 power?

The hostile attitude of Soviet Russia in international affairs,  
 the Canadian spy revelations, Soviet intervention in Hungary, the  
 aggression in Korea--all these events, and many more, have taught  
 Americans that the communist is not an angel of mercy, ministering  
 to the weak, oppressed, and wounded, but a menacing demon spattered  
 with blood and wielding a hammer and sickle of iron.

Nevertheless, great damage has been done, and is still being  
 done, in miscalculating and failing to understand the true nature  
 of communism. In the 1930's, and especially during World War II when  
 Russia was a military ally of the United States and Great Britain,  
 this foreign ideology gained tremendous strength.

The Party in 1944 claimed a membership in the United States of  
 80,000. Communist fronts welcomed overflow crowds; distinguished citi-  
 zens flocked to do their work. A great backlog of influence was built  
 up upon which the Party is still drawing. Thought-control nets

(more)

touched, in one way or another, literally thousands of sympathizers and victims. Many individuals, people who should have known better, went completely overboard, hailing or accepting communism as "Twentieth-century Americanism," a term widely publicized by the communists themselves.

Henry A. Wallace, in a frank article published in 1952, graphically pictured the communist power of deception, how he incorrectly interpreted communism and its counterpart, Russian imperialism.

While Vice-President of the United States, and even later, Wallace thought Russia "wanted and needed peace." He visited the Soviet Union in 1944 and was favorably impressed. But, as the article related, he did not realize during his tour the feverish efforts being made by the Soviets to hoodwink him.

For example, he visited Magadan, a city in Siberia, which was one of the Soviets' most notorious slave labor camps. "Nothing I saw at Magadan or anywhere else in Soviet Asia suggested slave labor." Later he learned of the Soviet actions "...to pull the wool over our eyes and make Magadan into a Potemkin village (an ideal show city especially built for visitors) for my inspection. Watch towers were torn down. Prisoners were herded away out of sight. On this basis, what we saw produced a false impression." X

Mr. Wallace then added "...what I did not see was the Soviet determination to enslave the common man morally, mentally and physically for its own imperial purposes."

The communists claim to be many things they are not. All over the world and <sup>in</sup> every field of human life they have erected false fronts, Potemkin villages, to fool and enslave mankind. X +

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Who are the Americans who turn communists--that is, in what professions or groups are they most likely found? What is the strongest allurement communism has for them? These are questions taken up by J. Edgar Hoover in tomorrow's instalment of this first serialization of his bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," in (name paper), and he cites some case histories of dupes. Don't miss this particularly important chapter.

###

Optional sidepiece with fourth  
instalment of "Masters of Deceit."

Communism has been ~~described~~ <sup>helped</sup> to make its gains in the world through deliberate deception of the working classes whom it professes to represent, it is pointed out by J. Edgar Hoover in "Masters of Deceit." Karl Marx, with what Hoover describes as "shrewd cunning," aimed his appeal "to catch everyone who was greedy, ambitious, discontented or downtrodden." Actually, as Hoover shows, Marx believed <sup>in Marxism</sup> most workers are stupid, uneducated, and duped by capitalists. They could never start a revolution by themselves. They need guidance, the job of the Communist Party. Continuing, Hoover explains:

"Marx emphasized that capitalist society, most naturally, would not voluntarily turn over its factories, banks and money to the workers. Moreover, it would probably organize a 'counterrevolution' --which means defending itself. Hence, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers must, if necessary, be prepared to use force, that is, violent revolution. If the capitalists submit peacefully, good; if they resist, slaughter them.

"But this is not all. After power is seized, opposition will remain which must be stamped out, utterly, completely, mercilessly. Again, this is a job that cannot be left to an untrained, untaught proletariat. It is a job, according to Marxist thought, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, conceived as a transitional stage between actual revolution and the arrival of the highest and final form of communism.

"Who would direct the dictatorship? The Communist Party, of course. And what would it do? It would serve as a steamroller, liquidating through sheer force all 'capitalist' elements. Then, <sup>only</sup> and/then, could new 'socialist' construction begin. The dictatorships in Russia and the satellite countries with their secret police, slave labor camps, and mass regimentation are living examples of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in action.

"Well-intentioned and goodhearted men, Marx said, cannot be depended on to improve society. They are dabblers and botchers who make things worse. Mere social reforms strengthen capitalism, prolong 'exploitation,' and keep the corpse alive. Tear capitalism down,

(more)



xx down,

completely. Use force and violence. Set up a communist government!

"To the very end of his life Marx remained a ruthless fighter. Invective, anger, and abuse were his weapons. He defiantly defended his position against all comers. He bitterly denounced all who dared disagree with him...Always, by skill or skulduggery, he tried to impose his point of view. If he found that impossible, he worked furiously to destroy his opponent.

"In 1864 Marx was involved in founding the First International, a motley group of 'radicals,' 'have-nots,' 'socialists,' and 'anarchists.' A number of congresses were held, but little was accomplished. Finally, in 1872, after many feuds and quarrels in which Marx was deeply involved, he succeeded in having the group's headquarters transferred from London to New York, then considered a remote outpost. This was a move made out of spite, Marx preferring to see the organization die rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. In 1876, at a congress in Philadelphia, it was dissolved. The First International's chief legacy to the cause of world communism lay in giving international structure, for the first time, to communist ideas.

23

"Here is another irony of communism. This man who attacked the domination of the capitalists showed his own dominating nature again and again. In theory, he was 'for' the common man and wanted to correct the ills of society. In practice, his fanatical intolerance and overbearing ego made him a tyrant, an autocrat, a dictator.

"Marx's character helped shape the whole philosophy of communism and, as we shall see, forged a hideous instrument of power for those who were to follow him."

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Communism in America Today and  
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First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(Precede)

"The word 'democracy' is one of the communists' favorite Aesopian terms," J. Edgar Hoover found in his study of the Communist Party, USA. "But, to the communists, democracy does not mean free speech, free elections, or the right of ~~the~~ minorities to exist. Democracy means the domination of the communist state." He adds, "Such expressions as 'democracy,' 'equality', 'freedom' and 'justice' are merely the Party's Aesopian devices to impress noncommunists. Communists are masters at getting other people to do their work."

Good

P152

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In previous instalments of this first serialization of his bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," Mr. Hoover explained how the Party uses "front" organizations having names with the words "democracy", "civil rights," "workers'," "peoples'," to dupe unwary persons into supporting communists <sup>in their efforts to achieve</sup> ~~a Soviet America - the task assigned to the American communists by the Russian Communist International and Communist Party of the United States.~~

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The value of fellow travelers and sympathizers to the Communist Party lies in their apparent non-communist affiliation. The names of movie or TV stars or writers, teachers, clergymen and others well known to the public on the letterhead or printed appeals of a ~~Civil Rights Congress~~ <sup>Communist</sup> may dupe many persons. If such an organization loses its value to the Party through being exposed as a communist "front," another organization is put forward. After the "Civil Rights Congress" <sup>became ineffective</sup> ~~was dissolved~~, ~~the Communist Party newspaper, The Worker, announced the formation of a new "Emergency Civil Liberties Committee," and credited~~ <sup>the</sup> with one hundred and fifty "founders," from thirty-nine States, including fifty educators, clergymen and members of other influential professions, The old "Civil Rights Congress" national executive secretary, William L. Patterson, was ~~made~~ general manager of the Communist Party organ,

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took over some of the activities previously handled by the 'Civil Rights Congress'.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT FIVE.

xx organ,

The Worker, <sup>in January, 1958.</sup> ~~after John Gates was separated from its editorship and the Party.~~

"Each day, unfortunately, communist thought-control nets, sweeping through American life, catch new supporters," Mr. Hoover reports. Today, he tells how and why Americans are induced to turn against their country and embrace communism.

(End prelude)

#### INSTALMENT FIVE

By J. Edgar Hoover,

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Why do Americans turn communist?

The answer involves many details and is not simple. Most communists are ordinary-looking people, like your seatmate on the bus or a clerk in one of your neighborhood stores.

Most communists in the United States are now native-born. A minority are naturalized citizens; only a few are aliens. Some have never gone to school and have difficulty reading and writing, but many are well educated and have college and university degrees.

A member may be earning his living in practically any occupation or profession. Not long ago a large Communist Party section listed members in these categories, tabulated as "professional and white collar": artists, actors, doctors, dentists, educators, engineers, draftsmen, lawyers, musicians, nurses, newspaper writers, office workers, salesmen, social-service workers, pharmacists, clergymen.

Members are recruited from all nationalities, races and areas of the country. They may live in expensive mansions or tumble-down homes. They are of all ages.

Never can a communist be identified simply by his physical appearance, occupation, or clothes.

Why do these individuals join the Party, or become fellow travelers? Why, especially in this country, which has such a long and heartening record of expanding privilege and opportunity for so many?

The FBI has interviewed many hundreds of Party members. A few case histories given below will illustrate the motivations of many of them in joining.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT FIVE

xx joining.

Take a youth whose identity I will conceal as "Jack," who was born in a Midwestern city. He was tall, brown-haired, and possessed a pleasant disposition. He liked school and endeavored to please his teachers. He was intensely curious concerning the world about him, especially the physical sciences.

Something happened to him while he was in high school. The faith he had felt sincerely as a child faded. By the time he was graduated, it was gone. He was left with a spiritual vacuum.

Upon entering college Jack found himself with an exceedingly curious mind but one uncontrolled by any spiritual faith. In a class on government he made the acquaintance of the "Communist Manifesto." Later he read sections of Engels which discuss Marxist theory in relation to science. He was impressed. Here were some ideas that seemed to offer something positive and new.

Then one day, almost by chance, he came upon a leaflet distributed on the campus by a communist club. Jack became interested and made contact with the Party. Here, for the first time, he seemed to find an "answer" to the problems that had plagued him. Here, in the Party's claim to be working for a better world, Jack believed he had found a new "faith," which would give meaning and validity to his life. Jack joined the Communist Party.

Many reasons cause individuals to join the Party, but undoubtedly most important is the Party's appeal to idealistic motivations, its promise of a "bright new world".

"I believed that in the Communist Party was the beginning of a true brotherhood of man, working with devotion for socialism, peace and democracy," wrote Howard Fast, one of the Party's best-known writers, who later became bitterly disillusioned. "I believed, ...that the only truth about the Soviet Union was the picture presented by friends of the Soviet Union."

Communism exploits these basic human yearnings for better social conditions, racial equality, justice, and peace. In this way, strange as it may sound, communists are able to entice free men to fight for slavery in the name of freedom.

(more)

Unfortunately, this idealistic motivation has given thousands of members, from brilliant scientists like Klaus Fuchs to ordinary laboring men, undaunted zeal and enthusiasm for communism. Members driven on by this idealism have been willing to sacrifice their homes, families, and lives for the communist cause. It was the motivation of the New York functionary who thought that five or six hours of sleep a night were sufficient for any member and regarded any request for time off from Party work, as traitorous. "You can get your recreation after the revolution," she once snapped at an associate.

The Communist Party, in a very true sense, becomes a new but bigoted faith in such a case as Jack's.

Consider another actual case, that of "Eric." He is typical of the many who joined the Party during the economic depression. He remembered his youth as days of "deprivation." He worked at odd jobs, such as helping the milkman and caring for chickens. He became more and more dissatisfied.

One day at a secondhand bookstore, Eric came upon some pamphlets that painted an exaggerated picture of economic conditions in America. "The effect upon me was profound; I don't believe that anything I have ever read has had the same impact upon me since," he said.

He felt a "terrific compulsion...to do something to help better the conditions brought out in the report." He was swept up by a desire to wipe out prejudice, to "help bring the underdog of our civilization up to a place of dignity."

Eric had never talked to a Party member. He had formed a false impression of the Communist Party from communist propaganda.

Eric on his own initiative went to a corner drugstore, looked up the Party's address in the telephone directory, and called headquarters. He remembered how Party officials seemed "surprised" when he telephoned his desire to join.

Eric went to Party headquarters. There, in the presence of an eighteen-year-old girl and a dark-haired, stooped man, Eric signed an application card for Party membership.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT FIVE

xx membership.

Consider now "Karl," who as a young man was deeply affected by the economic depression as Eric was. He began to read communist literature and in 1934 joined the Young Communist League. †

When the Spanish Civil War came in 1936, Karl, because of communist agitation, became deeply interested. Some of his relatives had to flee from Europe because of Mussolini's persecution.

Karl went to Spain as a volunteer in the "Abraham Lincoln Brigade" organized by the Communist Party, USA. There in the front lines he was wounded; he still bears the effects of the injury. This impetuous decision, taken against the advice of his family, represented a contribution of the Communist Party of the United States to international communism. Karl's idealistic fervor against fascism and injustice was translated by the Party into shot and powder for the furtherance of communist aims.

Many thousands of Americans joined the communist movement during those early days of the fight against fascism. They labored under the illusion that the Party and Soviet Russia represented something else. As one disillusioned member was later to complain, "At this time the Communist apologists stressed idealistic goals, and bragged <sup>of</sup> a growing democracy in Russia." †

Many individuals have joined the Party because of a belief it was helping achieve better relations between the races.

"Ralph" was typical of them. He was a Negro, proud of his race and eager to help better its status in America. While in school he prepared a thesis on this subject. In his research, he read about Karl Marx and the communist viewpoint.

The communist position appealed to Ralph because of the claims that it was working zealously for the betterment of the Negro. He succumbed and joined the Communist Party. He was to learn that the Party has no sincere concern for the Negro but was and is using deceptive propaganda appeals about the Negro to advance the communist cause.

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The same communist tactic is used in the field of labor unions. "Edward" was an active member of his union. In the early 1940's he was recruited into the Communist Party: "I believed that I was joining a political party that would benefit the workingman."

Three years later he dropped out of the Party; for he had found it was not for the workingman. Rather it aimed at killing individual rights, making unions subservient to Party orders, and using union strength, influence, and finances to further communist goals.

In particular the communists have made an appeal to the so-called intellectual. The seduction of many intellectuals by the Party stands as a disgrace. Thinking men and women, supposedly trained to analyze critically, all too often have been duped.

FBI studies indicate that members joining the Party for idealistic reasons are more likely to stay in the movement than those not so motivated. Of course, this is not always true. Though joining the Party in a sincere attempt to better society, a member may quickly become disillusioned.

However, time after time members who join for curiosity, for social reasons, or for sexual pleasure soon drift out. Here is an example, "Gladys".

She was a college girl, rather gay, not too serious, with a great deal of leisure. She attended some Marxist study groups. Here Russia and communism were painted in rosy colors. After several meetings she was invited to join the Party. She accepted, 80 per cent, she said, out of curiosity and partly because she felt that if the communists could achieve a "peaceful" world about which they talked, it would be a "nice thing."

Other reasons Gladys gave for joining: to have something to do and to alleviate "boredom." She described Party literature as more amusing than educational. Needless to say, she did not stay in the movement. Even Party officials, in her opinion, never seemed to trust her.

A sad group of recruits are simply the twisted, mixed-up neurotics. Perhaps as sons and daughters of well-to-do parents they harbor a "guilt complex" about the ~~very~~ privileges that America has given them. Or, because of some setback in life, they are angry at society in general and turn to communism as a way to "get even."

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EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALLMENT FIVE

xx even."

Naturally, many new party members have been recruited from the families of Party members. In America today ~~many~~ <sup>MANY</sup> children, growing up in communist homes, are mentally captives of this alien ideology. These youngsters are taught from the earliest years that God does not exist.

Party parents provide special Marxist instruction for their children. When the child grows up he is given Party tasks: distributing literature, taking up collections at rallies, walking in picket lines. He begins to get the "feel" of Party life. Party morality is constantly being inculcated in these youthful minds, a belief that whatever helps the Party is good, whatever hinders it is immoral.

As the cases cited indicate, the individual reasons for joining the Party are many, varied, and complicated. Any attempt to apply generalized, ready-made remedies may leave the problem unsolved. We must try to see and understand all the forces, events, ideas, and motivations that brought about the tragic decision.

It is most important, I think, to realize that the Communist Party is attempting to promote and exploit the rise of materialism, irreligion, and lack of faith in our society in every way it can.

We should be alert to help any communist back on the road to good citizenship as soon as he shows the slightest indication that he is disillusioned with what he has found inside the Communist Party circles.

(boldface)

In the next chapter I shall discuss the reasons why members leave the Party. Here again we must understand each member as a human being, as an individual, always remembering that even though still a bigoted devotee he is convertible.

(end boldface)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How  
to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

In yesterday's instalment of this first serialization of his sensation-  
al bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," J. Edgar Hoover told  
what had been learned about what lures persons into becoming members  
of the Communist Party and puppets in its leaders' international  
conspiracy. Today he gives an FBI analysis of how the disillusion-  
ment of Party members can be promoted effectively.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT SIX

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Just as important as knowing why persons join the Communist  
Party is an understanding of what may induce them to leave. By  
recognizing and promoting the influences that cause communists to  
discover the fallacies and evils of communist doctrine and practice,  
persons in free countries can do much to defeat the communist  
international conspiracy.

~~Any~~ <sup>potentially</sup> communists, even the hard-core Party members, can be con-  
verted. To the individual who asserts, "Once a communist, always a  
communist," I say: "No. Any communist may have his eyes opened to  
what's wrong with communism. The communist should not be rejected  
as hopelessly lost. The ex-communist should not be belittled or  
despised. He can redeem himself by actively taking a stand for  
freedom. Every patriotic citizen should do all he can to bring  
communists to see the truth. The ex-communist is today one of our  
most potent weapons against communism."

Howard Fast the well-known author of "The Last Frontier,"  
"Freedom Road", "My Glorious Brothers" and other books, quit the  
Party after years of membership and writing thousands of words of  
communist propaganda. The revelations of Khrushchev about Stalin's  
murderous regime were shocking to him. "The dimensions of this

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*See memo 1/31/58 J. Edgar Hoover*

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horror were not only beyond anything we could have dreamed of...I was filled with loathing and disgust," he said. He confessed, "a sense of being a victim of the most incredible swindle <sup>(IN)</sup> modern times."

Barbara Hartle, because of her fiery energy and zeal, was recognized in Party circles as the outstanding woman communist in the Pacific Northwest region of the U.S. So active was she in Party circles that she was indicted, tried, and convicted under the Smith Act in Seattle in October 1953. But she, too, became disillusioned. As did Louis Budenz, Bella Dodd, Howard Fast, and Joseph Clark, she added her name to the growing list of United States communists who have said, "We've had enough. We're quitting."

To understand better what members go through in breaking with the Party, let's examine the case of Barbara Hartle. On March 12, 1954, she walked into the Seattle office of the FBI and told her story. She had been graduated in 1929 with the highest scholastic honor, Phi Beta Kappa, from Washington State College, majoring in English. She went then to Spokane, to find a job, and had experiences all too common in those world-wide depression days.

In a mood to grasp at any promise of a "better world," she began to read the writings of Karl Marx. Deeply impressed, she joined the Socialist, then the Communist, Party. Her rise in Party ranks in Spokane was rapid. She was transferred to Seattle where she was given some of the highest Party positions in the Washington State organization. "I'll go to jail if I must," she once declared, "but I'll remain a communist."

One day in 1945, when Earl Browder was on his way out as head of the Communist ~~Party~~ <sup>Movement</sup> Barbara sat down to write an article for the communist press. In it, from sheer force of habit, she defended Browder. But then what experience had taught her in the Party asserted itself. William Z. Foster was now the boss, no matter what. She tore up the article.

Later, back on the Party line, she wrote another article, supporting Foster. But she remained confused by this sudden Party switch. Out of this confusion, this "great surprise," as she termed it, came an inkling of the fact that the Party was not what it claimed to be, "democratic," but a fraudulent deception.

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INSTALMENT SIX - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx deception.

Yet, as had happened in many such cases, her confusion and doubt on that occasion were swept away in the rush of the Party member's life. Barbara had undergone a previous disturbance of her faith in the Party, back in 1939, after the Stalin-Hitler pact. Her doubts had passed then, too. She remained the fanatical Barbara Hartle, attending meetings, issuing orders, making speeches.

Then, in mid-1950, something decisive happened to Barbara Hartle. She was told to change her name, leave Seattle, and enter the Party's underground. For the next two years she lived under assumed names in various Washington State and Oregon cities.

The unending hustle and bustle of everyday Party activity ceased for her. As she sat in a lonely room or stood on a dark street corner waiting for an underground rendezvous, she now had plenty of time to think for herself. Suddenly all the doubts that had been drifting in and out of her mind came together.

Looking back later, she said:

"I never realized that this discipline and this mental and physical domination of the Communist Party over its members is necessary to it in order to continue its double life of posing as one thing and being another. I had never before realized that the many unsolved problems I had noted while still a Communist Party member were products of this double existence."

It was one thing, however, to break intellectually with the Party, another to break openly. She had broken with the communist world of tyranny yet was held by the power that had robbed her of freedom. The indecision began to tear her apart. She was spiritually sick. At first she kept saying to herself and the Party, "I'll be all right. Just give me a little time. I'll work this out."

Her indecision ended in March, 1954. What happened then illustrates what an understanding and sympathetic citizen can do to help convert<sup>a</sup>/communist. Traynor Hansen, a reporter for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, had covered the 1953 Seattle Smith Act trial. He had noticed, as others had, that Barbara Hartle lacked the fiery disposition of the other defendants, ~~and spoke to her~~. Later, while out on bond, she had long visits with him. It was his counsel that she go to the FBI since it would have been improper under the circumstances for the FBI to go to her.

INSTALMENT SIX - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx her.

To Barbara Hartle's lasting credit, she did not try to evade responsibilities for or cover up her past errors. The information that she furnished the FBI is now at work against the very Party that for almost twenty years duped her. She deserves understanding and aid as she reconstructs her life.

Many FBI interviews with Party members reflect the fact that numerous men and women inside the movement are today in various stages of disillusionment. The numbers of those having doubts are good omens.

What usually causes doubt to arise in the minds of members? FBI experiences reveal these major categories:

1. The absence of freedom inside the Party. "I was constantly whipped into line," one member said, "on policies and issues with which I disagreed." "Discussions at meetings were not open..." meaning Party organizers would come and tell the club what to do. A writer who quit the Party said he could no longer force himself "to live in the stifling atmosphere of the party line with all its ruthless intolerance for the processes of the mind." In another instance a woman told the FBI what happened when she voted "no" in a Party meeting. "People literally moved their chairs away from me. I walked out of the meeting and never attended a Communist Party meeting again."

2. The inability to live a normal life. The Party makes constant demands on the member's time. There is no end of assignments: distributing literature, attending meetings, getting petitions signed. Though herself a member, a woman complained that she was "sick and tired" of her husband's putting the Party before her and the children. The Party's instructions must always take precedence. As suggested in the references above to the case of Barbara Hartle, there is a reason for this tactic of the Party in keeping the rank and file member busy. But the constant monopolization of the member's time, of never allowing him to relax, to develop a hobby, or enjoy a family, often backfires.

(more)

3. The Party's callous disregard of members' personal problems.

A Party official's wife was sick. He asked for time off. It was refused. ~~the~~ <sup>Suppose</sup> member's home had to be mortgaged to enable him to make his required contribution in a Party fund drive. ~~He~~ couldn't keep up the mortgage payments ~~to~~ the Party that was just his hard luck. An old-time member was sent underground. He was instructed to change his name, sell his car and personal belongings, leave his wife and not contact her. Later, he asked Party permission to visit his family. The answer : no. He came home anyhow and was severely disciplined.

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4. Discrepancies between Party practices and claims. Persons

who join the Party in the belief that it is honestly intent in correcting some social evil, such as racial inequality of opportunity or inadequate housing, eventually are disillusioned, if they are not blind. Their eyes are opened, as were Barbara Hartle's, by internal squabbles and feuds, rigged elections, trumped-up evidence. They discover that Party leaders stay in fancy hotels, or take vacations, while rank-and-file members are hounded to donate the last dollar.

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5. Communist tyranny in Russia and behind the Iron Curtain.

The sensational revelations of Khrushchev concerning the crimes of Stalin rocked the Party apparatus. Then came indisputable evidence of anti-Semitism in Russia and in November, 1956, the capping blow to communist pretensions, suppression of Hungary by Soviet troops, with its spectacle of a self-proclaimed leader of "people's rights" physically strangling a people's demand for liberty.

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Howard Fast said: "From Hungary and its tragedy we learned of a new kind of socialism--socialism by slaughter and terror."

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Another member who had spent over twenty-five years in the communist movement admitted to the FBI that Soviet intervention in Hungary brought things to a head for him. If he were in Hungary, he said, he would be a Freedom Fighter.

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6. Communist opposition to religion. Member after member

has related that the Party's claims that God doesn't exist and that ~~the accepted~~ religions <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ myths have eventually stirred his doubts. Many members carry within their hearts the influence of religious training received while they were young. They find no comfort in and rebel at a materialist solution to life.

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xx life.

Marxist doctrine purports to reduce man's problems and destiny to an economic formula. 1125

These, then, are some of the reasons why doubts concerning communism arise in members' minds. Why do many still hesitate to break with the Party? The answer: They are still under the influence of false fears. 1125

1. Fear of the FBI. One member, when interviewed by the FBI, expressed amazement at the cordial treatment accorded him. "I thought you fellows would drag me from my house." Communists for years have poured scorn and contempt on the FBI. They try to paint our agents as brutal thugs. One highly placed member, visited by the FBI, turned what was expected to be a fifteen-minute interview into a five-hour discussion, during which he said, "The Party considers the FBI its prime enemy and Party members are expected to denounce the FBI." The FBI wants sincerely to help these individuals. They should feel free to counsel with us. Communist Party members can be assured that they will be cordially received, not embarrassed, and that their information will be kept strictly confidential, should they so request or if there is good reason to protect their identity. 125

2. Fear of being regarded as a "stool pigeon." This fear, played upon by the Party, is today keeping many communists silent. Our agents asked one Party member, "Suppose a criminal gang kidnaped one of your children. What would you do?" The answer: "Call the FBI." "Would you want the FBI to make inquiries to locate the youngster?" "Yes" "Would you expect citizens having pertinent knowledge of this criminal conspiracy to give that information to the FBI?" "Certainly," he said. 126

The communist member furnishing information to the FBI is also doing his moral and patriotic duty in helping crush a criminal conspiracy. To remain silent is to assist the Party. Communism, like a criminal gang, thrives when people able to combat it refuse to do so. 126

3. Fear of personal safety and reputation. Some members fear the rabid hatred that the Party spews out at members leaving the movement. A West Coast communist, though disillusioned, didn't break with the Party. He feared that his communist friends would 126

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xx would

ostracize him. Finally, though hesitantly, he said he was now willing to "risk" being with the majority of Americans!

Party members should not fear the hostility of their former Party associates. To be denounced by communists is an honor.

4. Fear of disgracing their families. Many members trapped in the Party without the knowledge of their wives or parents dread that their loved ones will know of their involvement. One man, asked if his wife and children knew of his communist background, began to cry. Another said he would do anything to keep his young son from knowing. Not long ago our agents contacted a Party member. "Don't talk to me at home," she said. "I don't want the children to know. Call me on the phone." Her wishes were respected.

5. Fear of not being "received back" as a loyal American. The answer lies largely with the Party member himself. It is within his power alone to break completely with communism. He will be judged by his actions, not alone by his words. The biblical advice holds true: "...by their fruits ye shall know them."

Patriotic Americans must do their share to help those who have become disillusioned with communism. Some are driven back into the Party by the ignorance and rancor of noncommunists. It obviously is discouraging to the wavering communist when he hears or reads of the truly reformed communist being characterized as a "renegade" and "traitor"--terms which would normally be used by communists themselves.

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In the next instalment, J. Edgar Hoover takes the readers inside a secret meeting of a Communist Party ~~cell~~ in the United States, and details how the leaders of a ~~group~~ exercise their power over rank-and-file members.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

Barbara Hartle, whose conversion from communism was described by J. Edgar Hoover in the preceding instalment of this first serialization of his revealing bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," broke with the Party only after repeated surges of doubt about it. Breaking the spell the Party had over her was agonizing because of the counter-effects of years of Party discipline and teaching. As she realized later, her "process of mental reorientation was impeded by the study and teaching of Marxist-Leninist works, which is the Party's antidote for such an eventuality." Over a long period of constant discussion, schooling and self-instruction, there is built up an inner consciousness of responsibility upon which the Party then relies to keep a member functioning, even though any real desire to do so has passed, she explained in telling the FBI her story. That's why the Party keeps stressing Marxist-Leninist education, and reading the communist press. It builds up a discipline that automatically attacks doubts, rationalizes glaring contradictions in the Party's claims and practises, and habitually guides the individual member's decisions in the Party leaders' favor. 170

In today's instalment Mr. Hoover takes the reader into a secret meeting of a communist ~~club~~ "somewhere in the U.S.," to show the methods of the leaders of the conspiracy in keeping the individuals busy on Party work and "in line." 170

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT SEVEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Let's look in on a secret meeting of a communist ~~club~~. I'm describing this particular meeting from the records because it is so typical of hundreds of such meetings of communist "clubs" or "cells." 131

The location is "somewhere in the U.S." The house is a two-story frame, painted gray with green shutters. A wire fence runs around the trim yard. The owner works as a draftsman, his wife keeps house. They have lived in this residential neighborhood, lying apart from the business district, for many years.

It is now dark, a little after eight o'clock on a winter evening. Downstairs lights are on, the blinds are drawn. A man comes to the front door, raps lightly, and is admitted. Soon a second

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INSTALMENT SEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

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man, walking at a leisurely pace, rounds the corner and enters. He has parked his car on another street.

Ten minutes pass. A third man knocks. He has come by bus from downtown. To make certain nobody was following him, he had ridden two stops past his correct destination, then walked back. Five minutes later a fourth person, a woman in a dark coat, arrives. There are no loud voices, no cars parked in front, no apparent reasons for the neighbors to suspect that a Communist Party meeting is in progress.

*omit* ~~Completed~~ Communist Party groups like this are kept small, containing three, four, or five people, as a security precaution. In that way fewer members know each other and their detection is less likely. Meeting places are frequently changed: this evening a private home, next time a public library or an automobile. Members have purposely sat on park benches, in bus terminals, even in hospital waiting rooms, hatching their plots in casual, conversational tones.

The third arrival this evening is the Party organizer, a paid official who serves as the group's leader. He sits in a chair in the corner, with the others around him. He speaks quietly but in a commanding tone, acting the dictator that he actually is.

"Joe," he says addressing the first man to arrive, "the last time we met you were given an assignment to collect three to five thousand sheets of paper, a Mimeograph machine and some ink. How did things go?"

"Fine," Joe replies. "I bought four thousand sheets of paper. Got them at three different stores."

"Good," says the organizer, "that's using your head."

"I also bought a Mimeograph machine and ink. Everything's now in the right place."

The "right place" refers to an undercover communist apartment in another section of the city, which the Party uses as a secret storage place.

"One thing more," Joe says. "I've made inquiries about a portable printing press. It's pretty old, but it'll work."

"Fine," the organizer says. "Follow that through. You took the serial numbers off the Mimeograph, didn't you?"

"No, I didn't," stammers the comrade. "I forgot..."

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INSTALMENT SEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx forgot..."

"Forgot!" explodes the organizer. "That's just plain stupid. Joe, this is serious business. You've got to keep alert. Someday this machine may be used to print secret Party instructions. We can't afford to have it traced. Take off all identification marks at once."

Then turning to another man, the one who deliberately parked his car around the corner, the organizer says, "Phil, how are things coming at the plant? Making any progress on getting Bill installed as shop steward?"

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"No, not much." The man shifts his legs. He is a big fellow, weighing over two hundred pounds. "Looks, like we're blocked."

"Nonsense," snaps the organizer, "There's always a way. What's the big problem?"

"It's Red, the union president. He knows Bill is a communist and he's fighting him. Red is smart, he knows the ropes. He's always been a hard worker for the union. He's got a clean record and he's liked by the members. As long as Red is president, we're in a bad fix."

"That's the wrong attitude, Phil. If one thing won't work, try another. Can't we accuse him of something? Have you gone over his past life? Hasn't he ever done anything wrong?"

"If he has, we can't find it. He's a straight shooter from way back and he really hates communists."

"Phil, this is your Number One assignment," the organizer says. "You get something on Red. He's got to be discredited. Maybe make up some letters, mail them in another city, accuse him of working against the union".

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The organizer goes around the circle of the members. Are they carrying out their assignments?

Ethel, the draftsman's wife, thinks she will soon be elected officer in a downtown women's group.

+

"Wonderful," says the organizer. "Get some of the women to write letters to Washington. Let them say the FBI is a Gestapo; that they're violating civil liberties by arresting Party leaders. That's good, Ethel."

(more)

INSTALMENT SEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER xx Ethel."

The other woman present, the last visitor to arrive, reports her activities as secretary of a communist-front organization.

The organizer, wanting the meeting to be short, speaks briefly about "new things" in the Party: A pamphlet from national headquarters has just been received and should be bought by all; finances are not in good shape. A new Party school is going to be held next month; Ethel should attend.

Shortly after nine o'clock the meeting is over, and as quietly as they have come the members slip out into the night.

Night after night, week after week, such groups of men and women are plotting against America, working out smears, seeking to discredit free government, and planning for revolution. They form the base of a gigantic pyramid of treason, stretching from the little gray house with green shutters to the towers of the Kremlin.

In theory the Communist Party, USA, is based on a "constitution," (18th version, 1957). That constitution, being a public document, is filled with typical Aesopian language. The Party member, for example, isn't fooled when the constitution proclaims, "The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights..." He knows better.

His Marxist training enables him to recognize the real meaning of the following phrase from the preamble:

"The Communist Party seeks to advance the understanding of the working class in its day-to-day struggles for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism."

The key is "historic mission." It does not mean something traditional, respectable, or patriotic, but the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence.

Engels, Marx's closest associate, set forth the "historic mission" of "the proletariat," which "can only free itself by doing away once for all with class dominion, subjugation, and exploitation." That, in communist terminology, means revolution. The Communist International has proclaimed the Party's "historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat."

(more)

INSTALMENT SEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx proletariat."

Today's communists, using deceitful double talk, attempt to camouflage the true meaning of this old and well-defined revolutionary term. The founders of the Party in the United States in the 1920's proclaimed the communist purpose: "...To destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society." (Article I, Section 2, of the Party's 1921 constitution.)

135 X

The National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, is according to the constitution, the highest authority in the Party. This convention, normally held every two years, is composed of delegates "elected" by state or district conventions. The National Convention, after hearing "discussions" of the various issues, is authorized to make decisions binding upon the entire membership.

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These affairs have the trappings of legitimate conventions. Various committees are chosen, resolutions adopted, and speeches given. But proceedings are secret, although spokesmen for the Party claim it has nothing to hide. Members of the legitimate press are excluded.

Exploiting this blackout of news, the communists often issue slanted press releases in an effort to influence public opinion. Another tactic is to allow the attendance of selected noncommunists, persons whom it is hoped will make favorable reports.

In preparation for the National Convention, Party officials work up a "draft program," a summary of purported Party aims and views on current issues, national and international. This "draft program" is widely circulated, with members being asked to discuss indicated approaches. Then, theoretically, the convention, based on the opinions developed, adopts a final program. In practice this "draft program" is a carefully contrived technique through which the leadership "sells" the membership the ideas and activities it wants to stress. Frequently, promoting the illusion that the Party believes in democratic processes, convention reports, resolutions, and speeches, purposefully edited, are published. They serve as policy guides for the membership.

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(more)

INSTALMENT SEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx membership.

Soviet trimmings are never overlooked in the arrangements. Read on the floor of the Sixteenth National Convention (February 9-12, 1957) were greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Other Communist Parties in China, Canada, Italy, Japan, and Czechoslovakia also sent "best wishes." These are purposefully used to give members the feeling that they are integral parts of the world-wide communist movement. This is one of the driving forces of modern-day communism: the Party-promoted idea that no member is alone, that he is part of a vast movement which, in communist eyes, is destined to conquer the world.

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(Tailpiece)

In tomorrow's instalment of "Masters of Deceit," J. Edgar Hoover reveals the set-up of the Party's hierarchy in this country, the subdivision of authority below William Z. Foster and other dictators of "the proletariat."

(End tailpiece)

# # # #

(TAF)

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NOT TO BE QUOTED OR USED IN ANY FORM BY ANY PUBLICATION EXCEPT A NEWSPAPER AUTHORIZED TO SERIALIZE "MASTERS OF DECEIT." UNAUTHORIZED OR PREMATURE PUBLICATION MUST BE GUARDED AGAINST. PROTECTED FULLY BY COPYRIGHT.

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

*Good*

(PRECEDE)

Contrary to an impression encouraged by figures purporting to show that the membership and influence of the Communist Party, USA, are in decline, the danger to the United States from master Red plotters, of hidden infiltrators or invaders, is as great as ever. This is the declaration of the man in the best position to know, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI since 1924.

In previous instalments of this first serialization of his revealing bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," Mr. Hoover revealed why Nikita Khrushchev had reason to believe that his boast in July 1957, "I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism" may become true.

*+*  
JUNE

The Party has ~~uncounted numbers of~~ <sup>MANY</sup> hidden members, fellow travelers and dupes aiding its ~~Communist-International leaders~~ conspiracy against the United States, the FBI chief emphasized.

*+*

"The strength of the communist lies in organized deception. Following Lenin's teachings, the Party is a small, compact, and highly mobile group that can strike quickly with great fury, often achieving objectives unwarranted by its numbers. Today's membership is hard, well trained, and disciplined. The weak, fainthearted, and skeptical have been purged. Those who remain faithful to the Party are dedicated to the communist revolution... These members are today working to promote a Soviet America: some in undercover assignments, some in communist-front organizations, others as Party officials... If the Party desires to undertake a certain task, Party members, seen or unseen, will be the leaders. Suppose that a communist front is to be started; that is, an organization which is to be maneuvered by the Party. A communist sympathizer may be named president, but a Party member will probably be executive secretary, placed there to control policies. Or suppose a giant rally for 'peace' is to be held. The platform will glitter with noncommunists, but a communist member on hand will control the agenda."

In explanation of why he wrote this report to the people, Mr. Hoover said, "Every citizen has a duty to learn more about the menace that threatens his future, his home, his children, the peace of the world. The book is an attempt to explain communism, what it is, how it works, what its aims are, and, most important of all, what we need to know to combat it."

Citing case histories, Mr. Hoover emphasized that "just as important as knowing why persons join the Communist Party is an understanding of what may induce them to leave," and "patriotic persons must do their share to help those who have become disillusioned with communism. Some persons are driven back into the Party by the ignorance and rancor of noncommunists."

Today, Mr. Hoover explains how the leadership of the Party is organized to control the apparatus of organized deception and keep the rank-and-file members mental slaves.

(END PRECEDE)

(more)

*Re: Jones to Lane Memo 2/6/58*

INSTALMENT EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx (END PRECEDE)

## INSTALMENT EIGHT

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Communist Party's organizational structure in the United States may be likened to layers of ~~stone~~ forming a pyramid. X

In the first level below the peak there are ~~in descending~~ <sup>the Party's policy-making</sup> ~~order of importance~~ <sup>organs:</sup> (1) National ~~Administrative~~ <sup>ADMINISTRATIVE</sup> Committee; (2) National Executive Committee; (3) National <sup>ADMINISTRATIVE</sup> Committee. +

The designations given these committees here are those current as this is written. They may be changed any day, for there is no hesitancy in the Party's top echelon about reshuffling the top administrative bodies, or changing the size or memberships of the committees. For many years the Party ~~has~~ <sup>spontaneously designated</sup> had national officers: a National Chairman, William Z. Foster; a General Secretary, first Earl Browder, later Eugene Dennis, ~~while~~ <sup>always</sup> the power <sup>has</sup> remained in the control of a small group. X

The second or middle level is made up of the administrative apparatuses that implement the decisions of the inner hierarchy: (1) various commissions and departments; (2) special organizers; and (3) "front" groups. +

The bottom or third level consists of all the subordinate regional and local units in the Party: that is, district organizations, and, in turn, various state, county, city, section and club setups. This level has its base stretching across the entire nation.

At the time of writing this, national headquarters were still located in a three-story, twenty-foot-wide, brownstone building at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, just off Broadway. It is a pygmy amid Manhattan's towering skyscrapers. With iron bars shielding the bottom-floor windows, this American Kremlin is a symbol of communist power in our country. Here meetings are held and important decisions made. The national office occupies the third floor and penthouse; the New York State branch of the Communist Party is on the first and second floors.

However, the 1957 Party convention authorized shifting national offices to Chicago.

(more)

INSTALMENT EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx Chicago.

The real power in the Party is maintained and used through the National Committee, which is "elected" by the national and state conventions.

The latest constitution of the Party says that "Between National Conventions, the National Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such has the authority to make decisions and take actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party."

This United States Politburo forms a base for dictatorship by a few leaders in typical communist fashion. Their control is strengthened by clever manipulation.

The <sup>current</sup> National Committee of <sup>SOME</sup> sixty members, "elected" <sup>in 1957, in turn</sup> ~~in the~~ <sup>(later two more were added)</sup> latest National Convention "elected" a twenty-member National Executive Committee. This <sup>group then</sup> ~~in turn~~, selected ~~a National~~ Administrative <sup>officials (seven of whom form the National Administrative Committee)</sup> Committee. ~~There is no free election.~~ The latter is the group ~~wielding the actual power~~, making the day-by-day decisions. Although membership of the National Committee is spread throughout the country, the comrades at national headquarters monopolize control of the Party affairs.

Almost unlimited authority often produces a repugnant type of person. Many of the top leaders of the Communist Party are haughty, swaggering, overbearing. They show they feel that they are better than "little" comrades.

William Z. Foster went to Seattle, Washington, to make a speech. "We're glad you've come," the welcoming local official commented. "Many of our comrades are looking forward to meeting you."

"Not so fast," Foster warned. "I'm not going to see any of them. I'm too busy. These little Party people just sit down and pour out their personal problems. It wears me out. You can't get rid of them."

"But," protested the local organizer, "they've been busy for weeks, working to make the meeting a success. They want..."

"Nonsense," snapped Foster. "You decide which ones are worth my time and I'll see them. Make appointments. I can't solve everybody's problems."

(more)



INSTALMENT EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx problems."

Later the local leader told Foster that the comrades wanted to give him a present, perhaps a traveling bag.

"Oh, no," Foster interrupted. "I've already looked at traveling bags, and I didn't find any costing less than seventy-five dollars which would be suitable. I don't think the members want to spend that much."

Right he was. The organizer had twenty to thirty dollars collected "voluntarily."

"What about a watch?" inquired the local leader, intent on pleasing the high-ranking visitor.

"I already have one," Foster replied. "It cost a hundred and twenty-five dollars. I don't think it's advisable to buy a more expensive one, and I wouldn't wear a cheaper one."

This was the "proletarian" leader, the "champion of the poor and downtrodden."

The attack forces of the Communist Party are contained in the middle layer, the commissions and departments delegated to carry out the decisions of the inner clique.

Communist leaders never view the United States population as a vast, uniform whole but as a series of different segments each of which is open to some particular appeal. There are, for instance, farmers with their special problems, trade-union members, and groups with special interests related to nationality, youth, and race. Communists realize that a single program, addressed to all groups at once will not be effective. Communist propaganda must be tailored to a group's dissatisfactions and desires.

The fact that programs designed for different groups are often mutually contradictory makes no difference to communists, for their purpose is to stir up discontent among as many different groups as possible.

These are the tasks of commissions and departments such as Veterans' Commission, Women's Commission, Education Department, Cultural Commission, Negro Commission, Labor Department, Nationality Groups Commission, Youth Commission.

There are related organs dealing with the internal administration of the Party. For example the National Organization

(more)

INSTALMENT EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx Organization

Department handles the placement of Party officials throughout the nation, while the National Review (Control) Commission (also known as the Appeals Commission) is in charge of security and disciplinary matters.

The commissions and departments comprising the task forces work out the practical details of implementing the Party line through men and women trained in special fields. There are experts of all kinds, on both local and national levels: waterfront organizers specializing in seamen's groups; labor organizers interested in penetrating labor unions; organizers in virtually every other field, such as aircraft, mining, steel, agriculture, youth, nationality groups. Then there are fund raisers, recruiters, Marxist teachers.

If a Party district is planning, let us say, a special organizing drive, an expert from national headquarters or another district may arrive to assume charge. He may deal with top officials or descend to club levels. He may stay a few hours, a week, or even months.

John Williamson for many years was considered one of the Party's top labor infiltration experts. Henry Winston was an authority on organizational problems. Both Williamson and Winston were convicted under the Smith Act of conspiracy to overthrow the United States government by force and violence. Williamson <sup>later</sup> accepted voluntary deportation to Great Britain, <sup>and has since been reported to have served</sup> ~~later reports identified~~ <sup>him</sup> as liaison between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party in the United States.

The task forces are not desk-riding organizations operating only through letters, telegrams, and phone calls. They are fast, hard-hitting, mobile organizations, operating primarily through personal contacts, with officials traveling thousands of miles a year by auto, train, and air to carry on subversive activities.

The Party has divided the United States into districts, some of which comprise more than one state. The Ohio State Communist Party, directed principally from Cleveland, Ohio, for example, includes the states of Ohio and Kentucky and West Virginia's four northern "panhandle" counties.

(more)

INSTALMENT EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx counties.

Communist membership is strongest in the Northeast section. The largest concentration of Communist Party members is in the area of New York City. Other states having considerable numbers of communists are California, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, Connecticut, Michigan, and Massachusetts. Relatively speaking, few members reside in Southern and Rocky Mountain states.

The district (or state) organizations hold periodic conventions, "elect" state committees, and have officers. Hence there is a Chairman, New York State Communist Party, or Secretary, Ohio State Communist Party.

Many states and districts have open headquarters. Formerly most were closed, but the Party realized that an open headquarters was essential in carrying out its day-to-day agitational work. These Party offices are usually located downtown in a room or suite in an old building. A typewriter and Mimeograph machine (the good right arm of the Party) are standard equipment. An old-time communist, usually a woman, will "triple" as receptionist, stenographer, and Mimeograph operator. Knowing all the members, she's a good "lookout".

The basic unit, at the bottom of the whole structure, is the club, formerly known as the cell. Clubs are of various types: community clubs, comprising members who live in a certain geographical area; shop clubs, composed of members who work at a certain company; industrial clubs, which include members employed in the same basic industry, such as steel, automobile, aluminum, though working for different industrial firms, and specialized clubs, for members of a profession, such as teachers, doctors, or lawyers.

A definite chain of command is always in effect. Everybody knows his relative position: who are his Party "inferiors" and Party "boss." In the event of an emergency a commanding officer is always available.

Communist clubs are often named after famous historical figures such as Tom Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Walt Whitman. Other clubs bear the names of communist "heroes" such as John Reed.

(more)

INSTALMENT EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx Reed.

This is a complicated structure, but it does work, generally efficiently, effectively, and all too often to the detriment of this nation. For the whole Party organization, regardless of its structural shape, is based on strict discipline, a rigid hierarchy, and a unified structure.

The cement that holds it together is a principle called democratic centralism. It is a contradiction in terms; But communists like fancy phrases to fool their opponents and perhaps, to satisfy themselves.

Communist spokesmen contend Party members have a right to participate in formulating policy and electing officers. Members may be encouraged to express opinions and there may be different points of view. But a decision is made by the leader clique. From that moment, "centralism" takes over and "democratic" falls away. All members, regardless of their previous opinions, are required to support the Party's stand. No minority can exist.

The tyranny and dictatorship that are part and parcel of the Communist Party are laid down by the rule: all lower Party organizations are subordinated to the higher bodies, and the highest of all are the Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which are run by the masters of the Kremlin.

A practical demonstration of democratic centralism at work occurred in 1957 in New York City. A campaign was launched for signatures for a petition to put Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee, on the ballot as candidate for the New York City Council. Although the 1957 National Convention of the Party emphasized that Party members could dissent from official Party policy, William Weinstone, another member of the National Committee, issued the order that "Those members who may not agree with this campaign should nevertheless understand that it is their duty to participate in signature getting."

We in the FBI, through confidential sources of information, know what goes on in hundreds of these communist meetings at all levels. We know who the speakers are, what they say (and don't say), what decisions are made. The "free discussions" are under carefully designed thought control.

(more)

INSTALMENT EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx control.

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In tomorrow's instalment of his inside story of communism today in the United States, Mr. Hoover details a graphic account of how membership in the Party affects every moment of the daily lives of men and women who may seem outwardly to their neighbors to be loyal citizens.

# # # #

(TAF)

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\* \* \*

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

GOOD

(PRECEDE)

Many in the United States obviously doubt that Russian communism now has a chance of becoming triumphant in the country. "The communists have no such doubts," it is declared by the man who is best equipped with information about the machinations of the Communist Party, USA, and those agents of ~~the Communist~~ International <sup>COMMUNISM</sup> <sub>who</sub> which operate independently of the CPUSA, namely, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since 1924.

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X

In previous instalments of this, the first serialization of his bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit" Mr. Hoover has been reporting on the extent of the communist conspiracy today in the U.S. and detailing its workings both in the open and underground. He has cited reasons why the organizers and dictators of the communist conspiracy are not discouraged by setbacks, and why any figures purporting to show the Communist Party in decline in this country may be highly deceptive.

William Z. Foster, long established leader of communists in the United States, has admitted, "Communist strength... cannot be measured even approximately by statistics... The Communist parties' strength runs far beyond all formal measurements..."

5

"Within four decades communism, as a state power, has spread through roughly 40 per cent of the world's population and 25 per cent of the earth's surface,"

4

(MORE)

the Soviet  
revolution  
2/10/58

INSTALMENT NINE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx surface,"

Mr. Hoover has pointed out. <sup>✓</sup> Some years ago communists claimed that their 'fatherland,' Soviet Russia, was encircled, a communist island in a 'capitalist' sea. Today <sup>The</sup> communist movement is on the march, <sup>into</sup> through Germany, the Balkans, the Middle East, across the plains of Asia into China, Korea, and Indochina. Communists have never won over an entire country by a free election and have never hesitated to shed blood if this would best serve their purposes. Communists firmly believe communism <sup>is</sup> destined to conquer the world.

"This belief is held in the United States too. A disciplined Party of hard-core fanatical members is now at work, with their fellow travelers, sympathizers, opportunists, and dupes. Communists in our country, though small in numbers, do not feel lonely. They have faith in the 'big Red brother' who will come to their help. William Z. Foster's hope, a Red America, is today inspiring thousands of Party members and sympathizers to determined effort. They want to add America to Soviet Russia's list of conquests."

The hold of the Communist Party on its members, its dominance of every phase of their lives from the cradle to the grave, is little understood by noncommunists. In today's instalment, of "Masters of Deceit", Mr. Hoover tells how the day-by-day life of a devoted communist differs from that of a loyal, ~~can be~~ free citizen.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT NINE

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Eleanor is washing the dishes. Her husband, Henry, has just gone to work. The two children are scurrying around the house, getting ready to leave for school.

There is a knock on an outside door. The caller is Ruth, who lives across the street. Ruth is chairman of the East Side Communist Club. Her husband, Robert, is state secretary of the Communist Party and a full-time paid functionary. The name of the city and state

(MORE)

INSTALMENT NINE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx state

are not important in this instance. Eleanor and Henry are typical of many devoted Communist Party members.

"Starting the day out just right," smiles Ruth. "Your kitchen work is all cleaned up. You can come and help us."

Ruth outlines her plans. The state office needs some typing done this morning. Eleanor was a stenographer before she married and often helps on a part-time basis at headquarters.

That is not all Ruth has for Eleanor to do this day. In the afternoon Eleanor is to make "some calls"; that is, visit some comrades. She must pass out word that the next meeting of the county executive committee will be held on Friday evening. This message cannot be given over the telephone or <sup>by</sup> mail, of course. Then tonight there will be the regular meeting of the East Side Club.

Eleanor probably won't get home in time to fix supper. If she doesn't, the kids can make do with some cold meat sandwiches. Henry is scheduled to meet with the Party's state education secretary tonight and he won't be home for supper.

Life in the Party! For members there is little if any time for activities outside the Party. The housewife is doing typing, running errands, Mimeographing, arranging meetings, collecting dues. Her husband, while working at the grocery store, in the shoe factory or at the service station, is serving the Party's ends there, on thinking of his Party assignment after working hours--such as distributing literature, soliciting money, serving as a courier.

If anybody joins the Communist Party expecting to lead an easy life, he is completely misguided indeed. Party work is hard, tough work. The Party is a ruthless taskmaster. The member's whole life is dominated. The Party is his school, source of friends, and recreation, his substitute for God. Communism wants the total man, hence it is totalitarian. That is part of its indoctrination policy: by concentrating all attention on the Party, other interests are squeezed out.

The man who keeps this subversive beehive of activity going on among members of the East Side Communist Club or its counterparts is the paid Party functionary. He is the key to the whole apparatus. Working on national, state, and local levels, he pumps in energy,

(MORE)



INSTALMENT NINE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx energy,

gives orders, coaxes, cajoles, threatens, smiles, scowls, pleads -- anything to keep the Party bustling that is in accordance with Marxist strategy and tactics.

Most of these communist functionaries are old-timers with ten, fifteen, or twenty years of service. <sup>Some</sup> ~~Many~~ have been trained abroad, <sup>AS</sup> ~~some~~ in the Lenin School in Moscow. They are transferred at frequent intervals, depending on the needs of the Party. One may serve as an organizer in California, as a section secretary in Rhode Island, then as a fund-raiser in Florida. Their full-time job is to advance the communist cause.

Most are men, but the Party employs women functionaries, too, especially on the lower levels. During World War II, when many male comrades were drafted, ~~or got into other posts,~~ a number of Party offices were run by women.

Salaries vary, depending on the size and location of assignment, but they average fifty to seventy dollars weekly. The communist official will probably live in a modest neighborhood. His wife will patronize the corner grocery store, his children attend the local school. If a shoe store or a butcher shop is operated by a Party member, the official will probably get a discount on his purchases.

Most Party officials drive cars, usually older, <sup>AND</sup> ~~less conspicuous,~~ <sup>less expensive</sup> ~~or more easily expendable,~~ models.

Except for special affairs, communist activity is slight early in the morning. The organizer, coming in from meetings around midnight or one o'clock, will sleep late. But that doesn't mean all day. One Southern communist official was severely censured for sleeping too late; then the Party bought him an electric alarm clock.

Functionaries eat away from home a great deal. They generally are well versed on "cozy" places where they can talk with a minimum of observation. "Home," to the communist organizer, is more a place to sleep than anything else.

If a Party convention is to be held, and out-of-town delegates are coming in, the organizer may turn his apartment into a temporary hotel. Using spare cots, beds, and blankets he will "put up" a half-dozen visitors.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT NINE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx visitors.

The official's job is to see that everybody has something to do all the time, so he is always asking for something, imposing some task, exacting money. He may, for example, approach a member for a donation: "We need five hundred dollars. Sell your car and donate the money."

He must know how to overcome fears, suspicions, laziness. He must be ready to deal with such situations as a "love triangle" whenever it may become disruptive.

In one case, a young Party member, married, decided that she wanted another member's husband. The man's wife, however, was determined to fight. The problem reached such bitterness that the trio's Party work began to suffer. So the state chairman stepped in.

The young woman and her "lover" requested Party approval for a divorce. The wife, with fire in her eyes, told the state chairman she wanted three months' leave of absence from the Party to concentrate on regaining the love of her husband. The state chairman brought Party pressure to break up this fight. There was no divorce.

When any problems arise, such as changing jobs, adopting a child, lawsuits, etc., the Party expects that members will solve them with the Party's advice. It encourages paternalism, dependence on central authority, in every way it can. Not because it is humanitarian or genuinely interested in the members' welfare. No, if a member is sick, tied up with a lawsuit, or unemployed, his Party work will suffer. Each member should be in top working shape at all times and he must be made and kept completely dependent. Consequently, the discipline of the Party, exercised through the functionary, extends to the most intimate details of personal life.

Here are a few actual cases about which the FBI learned:

A Communist Party member in Ohio desired to adopt a child whose parents were members of the Catholic Church, and the member had taken steps to join the Church. The communist state chairman was furious and opposed the step. Finally the member asserted his independence and left the Party.

(more)

INSTALMENT NINE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx Party.

One communist, in the Party's eyes, manifested "bourgeois" tendencies. He spent too much time working on his house! He was removed from his Party position.

A member in the state of Washington went to Alaska, without permission, to secure a job. He was suspended on the ground that he would attract the FBI's attention in Alaska.

A young communist attending a Party training school in New York was told the Party had decided that he was to marry a young woman who had just arrived from Hungary on a student visa. The ceremony was performed, and it enabled the girl to stay in the United States. With her U. S. citizenship established by the marriage, the girl secured a divorce. The young communist was sent to West Virginia as a functionary and started living with another girl. She also had a citizenship problem. This was met when the two were called to New York for a meeting. In passing through Elkton, Md., they secured a marriage license and returned there for the ceremony after the New York meeting. The girl then went on to Chicago to do Party work.

The Party functionary can and does order members to resign from one job and accept another, to move from one town to another, to stop seeing their families and friends, to lie, cheat, or steal.

Dues are collected monthly from each member. The dues are based on a member's income. Here is a <sup>sample</sup> schedule of dues ~~in one~~ ~~communist club~~.

<u>Income Per Week</u>	<u>Dues Per Month</u>
Housewives.....	.50
Students.....	.50
Unemployed.....	.50
To \$80.....	\$1.00
To \$110 .....	\$2.50
Over \$110 .....	\$5.00

Dues help control the member. The Party official can keep track of him, see if his interest is waning (if he doesn't want to pay), and also, if possible, determine how much money he actually has (which the Party can later extract).

(more)

X  
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INSTALMENT NINE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx extract).

The Communist Party member must also donate money "voluntarily." Every member must pay, and pay until it hurts. The Party conducts an annual fund drive, involving the whole membership. During this period, say September 1 to October 15, a white heat of intensity is reached. No member, regardless of excuse, is spared.

How much must a member give during this drive? Usually a week's wages is the accepted minimum.

But that is not the end of "donations." There are extra assessments or special fund drives. Party leaders have been arrested, they need help! (Defense Fund). The Worker needs money--urgently! (Press Fund). The Party must have \$100,000 in thirty days! (Emergency Fund). An "emergency" is always stalking the Communist Party. The best way to solve it is money. The only thing better is more money. The cost to members: at least a day's pay for each special fund.

The ~~business~~ <sup>KNOWS</sup> for Party functionary ~~is told~~ how to obtain contributions. Visit the prospective victim. Take along an out-of-town comrade (he's the high-pressure expert) and a local member. The latter should have plenty of money with him. The prospective victim might say, "Yes, I'd like to contribute, but I haven't any money now"--the easy way out. If so, the local comrade would interrupt and say, "Fine, I'll lend you the money. Would a hundred dollars be enough?" This squeeze works, a leader advises. Blank checks are also carried.

One member seriously proposed that bodies of deceased comrades should be sold for medical experimentation. The Party would gain doubly: first it demanded the fee for the cadaver and then the money ordinarily spent for the burial. It would not be out of character.

The Party urges that wills be executed naming the Party or certain functionaries as beneficiaries. Large sums are thus often gained. ~~A retired Episcopal bishop who died in Ohio provided in his will that the residue of his estate, valued at over \$300,000, be devoted to the cause of communism as propagated by~~

~~Karl Marx,~~

A number of ~~other~~ direct and indirect bequests to communists could be cited.

Over the years the Party has been blessed by angels and foundations whose money, made through the American free enterprise system, is then used in an attempt to destroy the system that made wealth and affluence possible.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT NINE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx possible.

To join the Communist Party does not automatically mean life tenure. Memberships must be renewed every year. This represents another means of control. If a member is delinquent in dues or donations, he'll have to pay a penalty, perhaps contribute ten dollars, or be disciplined.

As indicated above, even in death a member may become a pawn to enhance the Party. The passing of a prominent comrade invariably is the occasion for a "state funeral." The departed member is now a valuable showpiece and his passing is exploited to the fullest extent. On such occasions the deceased lies in state on the day of the funeral, with "mourners" passing the bier. A large, blown-up photograph of the deceased, draped in black, hangs at the rear of the stage. An honor guard of from two to four comrades stands at attention wearing red armbands.

At the funeral of Peter V. Cacchione, an elected member of the New York City Council, nineteen speakers delivered eulogies. Henry Winston, a member of the National Committee, delivered these parting words, *at the interment* "We are confident, as you were, dear Pete, in ultimate victory...We will carry out your heritage."

Through it all runs the hope, not of life everlasting, but of communism everlasting--if the members can be stirred up to work harder.

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Tomorrow in J. Edgar Hoover's story of communism in the United States and how to fight it: How the Party maintains a shadow government within the United States, with "courts," punishments, etc.

(TAF)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Good

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

"Communism is more than an economic, political, social or philosophical doctrine," J. Edgar Hoover has emphasized in previous instalments of this first serialization of his revealing bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit." It is an all-encompassing "way of life; a false, materialistic religion!"

} v  
x

He has detailed how the Communist Party, USA, acts as a state within a state. "It has its own system of 'courts', legislative assemblies, schools, and press. It enforces its own laws and its own standards of conduct...The Party member may physically reside in the United States, but he 'lives' within a communist 'world.'" There is <sup>certainly</sup> nothing American about the Party. ~~today, and there ever was.~~

x

The Communist Party, USA, serves as a "transmission belt" for the imposition of the Soviet ~~Russian~~ mentality, directly or indirectly, upon the people of the United States. The Party's objective is to produce a "politically mature" comrade who will work ceaselessly for the revolution which will make the United States part of the Soviet system, Mr. Hoover has testified on the basis of his <sup>40</sup> ~~30~~ years of experience in keeping check on communist infiltration of public offices, unions, churches, schools, every walk of life and segment of activity.

x  
x  
x

In today's instalment, Mr. Hoover reveals how the Party exerts dictatorial and ruthless discipline upon its members while professing to be democratic. The reader of his account understands more clearly what's behind the periodic stories of the separation from the Party of such long-dedicated leaders of the conspiracy as Earl Browder, John Gates, et al.

see memo 4/22/58 from Hoover

(END PRECEDE)

(more)

INSTALMENT TEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx (END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT TEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Communism today simply cannot be understood without a knowledge of Communist Party discipline: how it is engendered, how it operates, how it tears out man's soul and makes him a tool of the Party. The very core of communism is rigid discipline. Without it communism would lose much of its momentum, terror, and striking power.

The Party's constitution provides for a wide range of disciplinary action. An elaborate "appeals" framework is set forth, under which a series of "courts" is available to hear "charges," with the National Convention being the "court" of final resort.

Generally speaking, disciplinary problems on all levels of the Party are handled by Review and Control Commissions (often called Security Commissions). They serve as the "courts" to discipline any member who might be hostile to the Party.

These "courts" must not be confused with courts as we know them in the American judicial system. Run by hardened, old-time comrades, they are weapons of Party discipline. "Sentences" are meted out on the basis of expediency. Rules of evidence, the fair balancing of opinions, and the seeking of truth, are unheard of.

John Lautner is one example of the workings of the Party's disciplinary system. Lautner had been a member of the Communist Party for more than twenty years. He had risen through the ranks until he was a member of the National Review Commission of the Communist Party. He was security officer for the Party headquarters building, in New York City. He considered himself a dedicated member of the Party.

In January, 1950, he was ordered to go to Cleveland, Ohio, to help in perfecting plans for the communist underground in Ohio. Upon arrival he was taken ostensibly to a Party meeting in the basement of a residence. There he was ordered to remove his clothes and for a period of several hours was subjected to the basest of indignities.

(more)

INSTALMENT TEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx indignities.

Six other communists who, Lautner said, had <sup>(1)</sup>butcher knives, <sup>(2)</sup>revolvers, <sup>(3)</sup>rubber hoses, <sup>(4)</sup>and a recording machine, started questioning him about his knowledge of the underground, his army record, his relationship with Hungarian defectees, and correspondence with federal agencies. They proceeded to accuse him of being an enemy agent, a spy, of hiring unreliable people to work in the Communist Party defense office, and protecting government "spies" in the Party. Actually, Lautner was innocent of these charges. †

The Party's injustice inured to the government's benefit. Finally in the proceedings in the Cleveland cellar, Lautner had the presence of mind to say that he had left at his hotel the name of one of the communist officials conducting the star-chamber proceedings. This resulted in his release. He returned to New York, where he read in the Daily Worker that he had been expelled from the Party as an enemy agent. Lautner filed an appeal against this expulsion order but never received an answer. Several months later he came to the FBI for the first time and told his story. He testified for the government in several legal proceedings. †

Naturally, there is a big distinction between the discipline that communism can exact when it is in state control, as in Russia, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and China and when it is not. Communists in the United States cannot ~~exactly~~ exact the death penalty; they cannot operate slave labor camps; they cannot deport families to isolated areas. †

Yet the disciplinary actions of the Communist Party, USA, indicate unmistakably that communists in the country think and would like to act in disciplinary matters precisely as do communists behind the Iron Curtain. We can conjecture readily from the purge trials under Stalin, what could happen in the United States if communists ever controlled the government.

Communist discipline is a part of the everyday life of the Party. It is involved in required attendance of Party schools, reading Marxist literature and the Party press, and doing Party work.

(more)



INSTALMENT TEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx work.

A "conscience of responsibility," as one old-time member termed it, is created; a feeling that, whatever one's personal desires and responsibilities, the Party's orders come first and foremost; that every task is surrounded by a Party "halo of sanctity," thereby becoming an emergency urgently demanding instant handling; that a "guilty" feeling arises if the member relaxes for a moment or doesn't do his utmost in the job assigned by the Party "boss."

In the name of freedom, while appealing to the most noble qualities in man, the Communist Party is pushing humans into deepest tyranny.

Communist "courts" seek out those who do not knuckle under to communist discipline. An allowance may be made if a mistake is made from bad judgment, a lapse of memory, or lack of knowledge. That can be corrected by more "education." But if the member persists in error, that is, doesn't follow undeviatingly the Party line, he must be "flayed without mercy."

"An organization of real revolutionaries," said Lenin, "will stop at nothing to rid itself of an undesirable member."

"Deviationism," that is, differing from the current Party line as determined in Moscow or by the ~~members~~ <sup>clique which</sup> is strongest in the Party in the U. S. at the time, has led to wholesale purges in the past including the ousting of such leaders as Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, <sup>Earl</sup> Browder, and literally hundreds of lesser members. †

The Party claims to be an "advanced" element, teaching the noncommunist masses the "glories" of socialism. As leaders, communists must be "in front" of the less informed yet not too far away. Just where to be at any given time is decided by the Party inner clique. Anyone disagreeing is a deviationist, guilty of either "left-wing sectarianism" or "right-wing opportunism."

Some individuals, may even stray too far to the left. They want the Party to be more militant, to hurry up the revolution. They would rush on ahead, paying little attention to the guidance of noncommunists. That's wrong, says the strict Party-liner. Such an attitude would isolate the Party, make it an ineffectual sect. Those guilty of left-wing sectarianism must be made to turn around and come back.

(more)

INSTALMENT TEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx back.

On the other hand, many members lag behind the "correct" Party position of the moment. They may disregard the Party's revolutionary role as an "advanced teacher" and work too closely with "capitalists." They are "right-wing opportunists," equally as guilty as "left-wing sectarians" of deviationism. They had better rid themselves of this "capitalist complex" and catch up or else.

Disciplinary scythes can cut down anyone disliked by the leadership for any reason. If you want to get rid of a comrade, accuse him of "left-wing sectarianism" or "right-wing opportunism." He'll probably then be made to appear in a Party "court." What happens then will be effected by disciplinary vogues which sweep through the Party. For a while, "left-wing sectarianism" becomes prevalent, then "right-wing opportunism" crops up. After Browder's removal in 1945 as a "right-wing opportunist" (also called revisionist), the style was to criticize "opportunism." After the Geneva Conference of 1955 the fashion was to attack "left-wing sectarianism." (At <sup>This</sup> "summit conference" ~~proposed by the U.S.~~, high Soviet officials sat down with President Eisenhower and English and French heads of State.)

Another serious error is chauvinism, applied to a Party member ~~in the lower ranks~~ who supposedly thinks himself superior to others.

Any member can bring charges, no matter how silly, trivial, and stupid. This is not discouraged. That's a communist technique: always keep members in fear. Never must a comrade become secure, complacent, or unconcerned. He must be worrying constantly about "what's coming next." This prevents the entrenchment of Party bureaucrats and the formation of cliques; it makes discipline easier to impose.

In Party jargon, different types of "chauvinism" are distinguished. White chauvinism, for example, means that a white comrade, through word or deed, has "slighted" or shown that he feels himself better than a Negro comrade. If the reverse is true--that a Negro member considers himself superior to a white comrade--this produces inverted white chauvinism or Negro nationalism.

(more)

INSTALMENT TEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

XX nationalism.

Then there is male chauvinism, also called male supremacism, when men comrades "look down on" women. In one instance a man was accused in the Party of disapproving of his wife's smoking. This made him a male supremacist. If a woman thinks she is superior to a man, that's commandism.

To the Party one of the most serious charges is that of being an informer. Ever since 1949, when FBI informants testified at the first New York Smith Act trial, communists have been terrified of informers. They go all-out to catch "spies." Member after member innocent of the Party's charges has been expelled. "If you have to kick ten guys out to get the right one," a comrade explained, "that's the way to do it."

As part of its disciplinary program the Party encourages what is called self-criticism. Communists say this is proof of the democratic nature of their Party. Actually, self-criticism plays into the hands of the ruling clique, enabling it to detect dislike of its leadership. Steps are taken accordingly.

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In tomorrow's instalment of Mr. Hoover's exposure of the communist conspiracy and how to deal with it, the Director of the FBI tells of the long arm with which communist leaders exert a police power over persons supposed to be free citizens of a free country.

(TAF)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

Good

(PRECEDE)

~~One of the reasons possibly a majority of~~ <sup>MANY</sup> persons in the United States today do not fully comprehend the ~~unabated~~ <sup>at the</sup> dangerously virulent menace of communist ~~success in~~ <sup>struggle to</sup> overwhelming ~~the~~ <sup>This</sup> country from within ~~is~~ <sup>One of the</sup>

REASONS IS A ~~lack~~ lack of comprehension of the extent of the communist educational process and the fanaticism of its graduates. This is indicated in "Masters of Deceit," the story of communism in the United States and how to fight it, by the man in the best position to know: J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation since 1924.

J X

2/12/58

In outlining in this first serialization of his bestseller book, the vast routine activities of rank-and-file members of the Communist Party, USA, Mr. Hoover has emphasized that these activities "have a meaning more sinister than just keeping the Party going. It is a meaning that we overlook at our peril: the Party is a vast workshop where the member is polished and shined, his impurities melted out, his loyalty to communism strengthened. He is made into communist man."

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✓ The revolution requires, as Lenin taught, that the fanatical believer be a man who, if so instructed, will give his life to the cause. He's the paid functionary we met in a previous chapter, the agitator and propaganda agent described in following chapters. Without him communism would be just another 'ism.'

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(MORE)

INSTALMENT ELEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER XX "ism."

"This type of man isn't born, ~~or simply grown~~; he must be created by the Party, through education, indoctrination, discipline," *Mr. Hoover has pointed out.*

X  
159

Most persons probably would never think of the Communist Party as an educational institution. Yet, Mr. Hoover <sup>as back</sup> reveals, "the Party operates a school system of vast proportions: theory schools; orientation schools; specialized schools in current events, history, economics, social problems; schools in Party techniques: how to collect dues, recruit new members, serve as a club chairman, be a better public speaker; and, of course, schools on revolutionary tactics and procedure."

166

Education, in the communist scheme, means indoctrination, imbuing the member with qualities desired by the Party. But as Mr. Hoover has explained, <sup>the recruit</sup> he is not told at the outset that he is being changed into a Bolshevik, that his loyalty is being shifted to Soviet Russia. The Party's indoctrination process is slow and gradual. Bit by bit his precommunist training is extracted and replaced by Party ideology.

159  
159  
160

"Most important, he is grounded in love of the Party. It is a cardinal duty of the communist teacher to get the member believing 'the cause of Communism is the greatest and most arduous cause in the history of mankind' and 'to sacrifice one's personal interests and even one's life without the slightest hesitation and even with a feeling of happiness, for the cause of the Party... is the highest manifestation of Communist ethics.'"

161

<sup>has also</sup> Mr. Hoover <sup>ed</sup> explains how Party schools make extensive use of study outlines and lesson aids supplied by Communist Party national, state, and local educational commissions. Attention is shown to detail. In advanced classes members will have homework and examinations. As part of the instruction, classes often are given practical "field work." Students in one Midwestern school were dismissed, divided into teams, and sent to industrial plants to distribute Party literature. That evening they reassembled to discuss their experiences and receive ideas on how better to do the job.

162

Inside the Party the refrain is constantly heard:  
✓ Buy our literature. ✓ The pressure is terrific. "We probably circulate more literature per member of our organization by ten times," one former Party leader said, "than any other organization in existence." 164

Communists may be busy or deeply involved in other Party work. But they must also carry on self-study or, as the communists call it, ideological self-cultivation or raising the ideological level of the member. In today's instalment, Mr. Hoover explains one important phase of this. 162  
(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT ELEVEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Communist Party demands as part of its ceaseless process of indoctrination and discipline that members criticize or inform on themselves and their comrades. A well-inculcated Party admonition is, "Test your work against Marxist-Leninist principles, to determine what is wrong." Why did the club membership registration fall short? Are all officers of the club doing their duties properly? Why weren't more pamphlets sold, more money raised? <sup>Every</sup> ~~Anything~~ must be subjected to this process of self-criticism. 178 X

The individual members are expected to bewail errors, and prostrate themselves. "We were wrong. Have mercy on us. We will do better." If any fail to "confess," there are others to point out those offenders' errors. "You are a <sup>revisionist</sup> ~~deviationist~~," "You are a chauvinist." X  
The idea is to force the member to feel the depths of humiliation.

When Earl Browder was deposed in 1945 as <sup>head</sup> ~~General Secretary~~ of the Communist <sup>Movement</sup> ~~Party, USA~~, a fellow national officer suggested that Browder be given a job scrubbing floors at national headquarters. Browder later told the Yonkers, N.Y., communist club, "If there had been any evidence that there existed a real need for my services in this capacity, I would gladly have given them." 179 X

Members often work themselves into a state of frenzy, tearing apart their best friends. Sometimes the self-criticism becomes contagious, with Party sections and committees confessing en masse. 177

(MORE)

INSTALMENT ELEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

XX masse.

But comrades soon learn whom not to criticize. To attack a fellow comrade below the leadership level, especially one you don't like, is the thing to do. In attacking the club chairman the comrade had better take things a little slowly. If he is a friend of the chairman's superior and thinks he can get the chairman's job, then it's proper. If not, he should be content with self-criticism. 179

Good Party manners would say "no" to disparaging a state or national leader, unless the disparager had been assigned as a "hatchet man" for another top official. Communist criticism flows more safely downward than upward.

Criticism must also be of the "right" kind. Perhaps it is felt an organizer isn't doing his job thoroughly. To criticize him is proper; that's constructive criticism, designed to make the Party stronger. "But this criticism," one high official warned, "must never depart from the line of the Party..."

That's the crux: Criticism must be limited to how the Party line can best be advanced. Anything else is destructive criticism. It's like a house full of furniture. A comrade is permitted to discuss how the furniture can be arranged, whether the blue chair should be in the front room or the bedroom. But as soon as he questions the size of the house, whether a new room should be added, or the entire house destroyed and rebuilt, well, that's going too far. The Party line must not be questioned.

John ---- was highly regarded as a club chairman. He was aggressive and a hard worker. Promotion was his reward. He was sent by the CPUSA National Committee to another city as a section organizer. Soon things began to hum. John reorganized some clubs. He shifted other Party activities.

Then he went one step too far. He suggested that the state organization, headed by his superior, could be improved. John should have known better. An organizer can work out new schemes to raise money, recruit members, and to reshuffle clubs; that is Party initiative. But he doesn't criticize state chairmen and, as John did in this instance, threaten to take up the matter directly with national headquarters.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT ELEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

XX headquarters.

John quickly became the fellow who "went up fast, down faster." Party headquarters in the State, in a special report, severely criticized him and recommended additional Party training. The result: He was recalled ~~to his home city~~ and assigned to an insignificant desk job. He had to learn his lesson. X

Unless the Party member is wary his criticism may be deemed so "destructive" as to be factionalism, which, in Party eyes, is open rebellion. Suppose a member holds a critical opinion. Others agree and soon a faction, or group hostile to the Party line, is formed. Every resource of the Party is mobilized to destroy it.

The Party's constitution specifies limits to which democracy may be ~~approached~~ <sup>PRACTICED</sup> in ~~its~~ <sup>COMMUNIST</sup> proceedings: "Every officer and member shall have the right to express a dissenting opinion on any matter of Party policy with respect to which a decision has been made by majority vote of the appropriate Party committee or convention, provided that such dissenting officer or member does not engage in factional or other activity which hinders or impedes the execution of such policy." [Emphasis Supplied] X

In other words, in practice any criticism that "hinders" the Party line is "factionalism" and is forbidden.

"Factionalism" has sometimes become so pronounced that entire groups of CPUSA members have been expelled. There are in the United States today a number of Marxist factions (called splinters), each small in number and with varying degrees of hostility to the Communist Party.

Noncommunists will have difficulty in understanding the utter inhumanity of communist discipline. It is a discipline that pervades every facet of life, drives wedges between husband and wife, and separates families. The best friends today may be the bitterest enemies tomorrow because of a Party action.

A woman member heard that her husband, a high-ranking functionary, had been expelled. He told her he was innocent of the charges, and he was right. The charges were completely false. But she double-checked with her Party leaders. They said her husband was guilty. Finally her decision was made.

"Get out of this house," she ordered. "I don't want you around. You're a traitor. Now, OUT!"

(MORE)



Party discipline had overruled every other consideration. The husband was driven away from his own home and his own child. Loyalty to the Party supersedes all emotions of love and mercy and justice. This must be understood in any consideration of the communist menace.

The parents of a young woman in California who came to FBI notice were Party members. Both had held high offices in their section. They objected to their daughter's staying out with another Party member <sup>early morning</sup> until/because of parental feelings that this conduct was injuring her health and affecting her progress in school.

The daughter's companion complained to a Party functionary that he was being discriminated against because he was a Negro. The girl's mother, a former section chairman, defended her action. The daughter then took the floor and charged her parents with chauvinism. The parents were expelled. The daughter then married the complainant.

The mildest Party penalty is reprimand. This may take the form of private censure, such as, "You had better be on time in the future," or, "Your work wasn't well organized." More severe is public censure, whereby through written notice or public announcement a comrade is reprimanded, so others know of the Party's disapproval.

Then, there is probation. This may involve a shift from one type of work to another or an assignment to special tasks. If the offender is a paid Party official, he may be demoted (for example, from a state office to a minor position) or transferred to another city.

Next is suspension, usually for a specific length of time. This amounts to a temporary relief of assignments.

The most severe penalty, next to expulsion, is removal from office. In such instances the comrade may be stripped of all Party assignments and demoted to being a mere rank-and-filer. This naturally is a hard jolt to a dedicated member who has risen in the Party ranks.

All punishments are intended to be correctives and object lessons. But fear purposely plays an important part in Communist Party discipline. "Be careful, comrade, or the same thing will happen to you."

The most drastic penalty admitted in the Party disciplinary scheme is, of course, expulsion. Thousands of case histories are mute evidence of the effects that can be wrought through it.

(more)

INSTALMENT ELEVEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx it.

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(Tailpiece)

\* \* \*

Tomorrow: J. Edgar Hoover details what happened to some of the men the Communist Party's private system of courts found guilty of "betraying" the Party or "deserting" to the "class enemy."

(end tailpiece).

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How  
to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

*GOOD*

(PRECEDE)

Misleading stories in January 1958 gave the impression that  
publication of <sup>Daily</sup> ~~The Worker~~, the blatant mouthpiece of the Communist  
Party in New York, had been discontinued permanently. ~~Week-day~~  
~~editions of The Worker were~~ <sup>Daily</sup> ~~was~~ suspended at least temporarily, but  
the ~~Sunday~~ <sup>week-end</sup> editions ~~were~~ <sup>The Worker</sup> continued uninterruptedly, with a new  
general manager in charge: William L. Patterson. He was the  
executive secretary of the "Civil Rights Congress." At a hearing  
of the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1955, the Rev.  
Walter C. Crenshaw, a ~~Methodist~~ <sup>PITTSBURGH</sup> minister in Akron, O., and one-  
time vice-chairman of the "Civil Rights Congress" ~~was~~ <sup>in substance</sup> ~~under oath~~ <sup>CONFIRMED</sup> that Patterson <sup>we</sup> told him, "We must learn to hate our  
enemies enough to want to kill them. This is the way <sup>we</sup> to fight for  
civil rights."

The resurgent <sup>The</sup> ~~Worker~~, in a February 1958 issue, carried a  
report by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, long a leader in the Communist  
Party, which began, "January 1958, has been marked by a few victor-  
ies..." She ~~described~~ <sup>felt</sup> the Smith Act ~~as~~ <sup>was actually</sup> a "shambles", in con-  
sequence of a decision of a judge freeing 11 persons convicted in  
Hawaii and Seattle of violation of the Smith Act. The Act made  
it unlawful to advocate or teach the overthrow of the U.S. Govern-  
ment by force or violence. "In addition to the Hawaii-Seattle  
victories," she continued, "the other bright spot in January was  
that the Government's seven-year-old attempt to force the Communist  
Party to register <sup>FROM</sup> as an organization dominated by the Soviet Union,  
met a rebuff ~~at~~ the U.S. Court of Appeals, which returned the case  
to the Subversive Activities Control Board. The Court ordered that

*See forward to Helen M... 2/19/58*

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWELVE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx that

the Government must produce relevant secret FBI reports..."

The Flynn woman, who ran for New York City Council in 1957 as a candidate of the "People's Rights Party," instructed readers of The Worker that <sup>Telo</sup> ~~the Communist Party~~ <sup>The Sobell Committee</sup> was engaged in collecting 300,000 signatures on petitions demanding the freeing of Morton Sobell. Sobell was convicted in 1951 with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. In sentencing the Rosenbergs to death, Federal Judge Irving Kaufman declared, "I consider your crime worse than murder... Your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb, years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb, has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason...."

Meanwhile, the Committee on Un-American <sup>Activities</sup> Affairs of the House of Representatives declared in a report that many proposals in Congress for major changes in immigration and security laws "coincide with the expressed objectives of the Communist Party." The Committee said that the Communist Party and its affiliates were employing letters, petitions and personal appeals "designed to fabricate the impression that a broad popular sentiment exists for debilitating the nation's immigration and security systems."

Readers of previous instalments in (Name paper's) first serialization of the revealing bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," by J. Edgar Hoover, have been given detailed evidence collected by Mr. Hoover, of the fact that "the history of the Communist Party in the United States has been characterized by two main trends: (1) development of a disciplined Party structure or, in the words of William Z. Foster, 'the building of a Leninist Party of a new type,' and (2) the complete and unquestioning subservience of the Party to Soviet Russia."

Foster has remained a top leader in the Party longer than any other man. Leaders who were, or were suspected of being, "deviationists" from the Soviet line, were forced out of the Party.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWELVE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx Party.

Foster never renounced the promise of founders of the Party that "the principles upon which a Soviet America would be organized would be the same, in every respect, as those which guided the Soviet Union."

7

In today's instalment, Mr. Hoover tells what happened to some of the Party officials who were purged because of actual or suspected deviations from the prescribed Party line.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT TWELVE

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Once the communists turn on a comrade, the treatment is complete. For example:

Earl Browder, who had been <sup>head of the Communist Party</sup> ~~General Secretary~~ for 15 years, was expelled in February, 1946, for "...developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy -- American monopoly capital."

X  
183

In 1945 he had been the leader of communists in the United States. He was now a "renegade," an "enemy" of the foulest descriptions. <sup>MANY OF</sup> The books he had written were burned.

X  
187

Browder's crime was not disloyalty to the Party but obedience to a policy that, in his opinion, was in the best interests of communism <sup>in the United States.</sup> Moscow thought otherwise.

X  
188

He was stripped of Party authority, accused of every conceivable Party crime, by the very subordinates who had been his obedient supporters. He was made a target of vilification for the entire membership.

X  
185

(As stated in previous instalments, one early leader, Jay Lovestone, was ~~removed as General Secretary and~~ expelled for espousing "American exceptionalism." By this the communists meant that Lovestone viewed American capitalism as something "exceptional," not obeying the Marxist-Leninist laws, which teach that capitalism, because of internal <sup>contradictions</sup> ~~contradictions~~, will inevitably decay. Lovestone believed that American capitalism was too strong to follow these Marxist rules. Benjamin Gitlow, who was Vice-Presidential <sup>COMMUNIST</sup> candidate on a "Workers' Party" ticket headed by Foster and who served a three-year sentence in New York State for criminal anarchy, was

X  
74  
X  
68  
69  
2

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWELVE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xxwas

expelled in that same period, when the Communist Party, USA, acting under Comintern instructions, conducted its first big "purges." James P. Cannon, another of those purged in <sup>the late 1920's</sup> 1928, was expelled for possessing Trotskyite tendencies, a reflection of the CPUSA'S adherence to Stalin in the Trotsky-Stalin struggle for power in Russia.)

When Sam Donchin, who was an Associate Editor, Daily Worker, until shifted to leadership position on the Party's Education Commission, was forced out, the Daily Worker said, "Donchin was expelled for factionalism, anti-Party activities, hostility to the line of the Party and to the Party leadership, and white chauvinism."

~~The reason given for the expulsion of Ben Bondofsky, Literature Director of the Communist Party in New York State until 1951, was unusual: serious financial irregularities.~~

Once a member breaks with the Party and testifies or makes a public statement, he can expect a merciless campaign of vilification.

On April 10, 1952, the well-known stage and screen director, Elia Kazan, appeared before the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington and testified that he had been in the Party for a year and a half in <sup>the</sup> 1930's and quit because of the regimentation and thought control that had been directed at him. Two days later he took a paid advertisement in the New York Times explaining his reasons. Writing in The <sup>Daily</sup> Worker, Samuel Sillen on April 17, 1952, gave Mr. Kazan the full treatment with such vitriolic words as:

"We have seen a lot of belly-crawling in this time of the toad, but nothing has quite equaled last week's command-performance by Hollywood director Elia Kazan... Not even in Hitler days did renegade intellectuals sink so low... Kazan is not content with being a toad. He must also be a philosopher of toadyism."

Communist discipline, however, is not blind. It is held that individuals should not be expelled impulsively but should be shown the error of their ways. Only when he is deemed "unimprovable" is a member to be ousted. For this reason offenders are often compelled to perform special "disciplinary chores" to "earn their way

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWELVE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx way

back," that is, to show through hard work, devotion, and acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Party in every respect that they should be readmitted to favor.

In a Northern city in the United States an official in disfavor was placed in charge of arranging a mass meeting. But he had to "prove" himself to the Party leaders, by doing the most menial of the tasks involved -- running errands, selling tickets, recruiting ushers -- he/<sup>who</sup>used to be a mass meeting keynoter himself.

In Party eyes, a member who has gone through abasement is a better comrade because of it. He can be reprimanded, criticized, treated in a brutally unfair manner, yet he'll keep on working. Lash him, and he'll clench his teeth tighter. That's the true communist in the Party concept.

(Reference was made in a previous instalment to the fact that when Earl Browder was deposed from his power as <sup>head of the Communist movement,</sup> ~~General Secretary~~, a fellow national officer of the Party proposed that Browder be given a job scrubbing floors at national headquarters in New York. Browder expressed to a Yonkers club of the Party his willingness to have performed such a menial task. But he was expelled from the Party <sup>because he was not disposed</sup> ~~without being given an opportunity~~ to "atone" for "developing factional activity.")

The key point in discipline is acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Party. Hence, one of the fastest ways "back" is to acknowledge it quickly and completely. ~~(Presumably, Browder was not disposed to be contrite.)~~ *Browder refused to do this.*

In a Midwestern section of the CPUSA, an organizer was accused of conduct detrimental to the Party. In a statement read at an executive committee meeting, he admitted his error. He even suggested his own removal as organizer. This attitude was exactly what the Party wanted. The result: public (and mild) reprimand, without suspension or removal from office.

This explains why, in some instances, severe errors receive minor penalties, whereas small mistakes result in expulsion. On one occasion a member involved in difficulties with his wife replied "none of your business" to an inquiry about it made by the Party. He wasn't long in good standing. In Party Aesopian language, he showed no "political capabilities," meaning he was not amenable to discipline.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWELVE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx discipline.

The Communist Party employs systematic means of creating hatred against an expelled member, or one who quits the Party voluntarily, and turns against it. According to its dictates, he must be vilified, blackened, and made to appear the scum of the earth.

These individuals become "spies," "stool pigeons," "rats," "Trotskyites," "renegades," and "degenerates."

The higher in Party leadership the ousted member has risen, the greater are the efforts to defame him. For example, Robert Wood, the Party's onetime organizer of railroad employes in the eastern part of the United States, was expelled, <sup>Daily</sup> ~~The Worker~~ on March 23, 1951, said, for: "various violations of Party discipline, for panic in the face of the fire of the class enemy, for acts endangering the Party, for issuing instructions in the name of the Party which were unauthorized and false, for acts of white chauvinism." A fantastically bitter communist discipline and hatred is aroused. One Party manual, written by a top leader, recommended:

"Mobilize the children and women in the block in the part of town where the stool pigeon lives to make his life miserable; let them picket the store where his wife purchases groceries and other necessities; let the children in the street shout after him or after any member of his family that they are spies, rats, stool pigeons.

"Chalk his home with the slogan: 'So-and-So who lives here is a spy.' Let the children boycott his children or child; organize the children not to talk to his children, etc."

An expellee is not allowed to associate with any member of the Party--even though that member be his own father, mother, wife, or husband. In one case that came to FBI attention, when a woman member was expelled, her husband was instructed to leave her and the children. When he refused, he was expelled.

When there is a likelihood an expellee might become a government witness, then the communists go to work to compile such information as could be used to discourage the witness from testifying for fear of exposure or of being discredited in cross-examination by a communist lawyer.

(MORE)



INSTALMENT TWELVE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xxlawyer.

Communist discipline has ~~an extreme~~ <sup>a fact of law</sup> difficult for some non-communists to comprehend. Penalties, expulsions, and exposure may not be enough; the culprit must pay with his life. The world has been provided with the spectacles in both Russia and the satellites, <sup>of</sup> "purge" trials which the communists themselves publicized. X

There were victims renowned for their devotion, often having spent their entire lives in the movement. Suddenly within days, their whole position was overturned. They were convicted of trying to destroy what they had labored so long to create. Why? 187

Communism is cannibalistic. Its servants are periodically offered as sacrifices on the communist altar. If something goes wrong, the trouble lies, in communist eyes, not in the policy decreed by those in highest power, but in its human instruments.

The periodic purge is basic in the communist movement everywhere. Lenin was a firm advocate of purges. He urged: "If we really succeed... in purging our Party from top to bottom, 'without respect for persons,' the gains for the revolution will really be enormous."

William Z. Foster has declared, "Communist parties, in line with Lenin's teachings, also constantly strengthen the fiber of their organization by cleansing their ranks of elements that have become confused, corrupted, worn-out, or defeated in the hard and complex struggle to build the forces of socialism..." 187

The ousted member in most instances frees himself from the communist thought-control machine. He is fortunate.

The deepest tragedy lies in the conscious and voluntary submission, day after day, of thousands of Party members. I must repeat that these fanatical devotees, giving their all for the Party, represent a real danger to our way of life. 180

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~~XXX~~  
Tomorrow: Communist Party offensive and defensive tactics, legal and illegal, in the United States today. Don't miss this instalment of J. Edgar Hoover's inside story of the Communist Party and how to defeat it.

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#17

FROM KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, 235 EAST 45th ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FOR RELEASE IN EDITIONS DATED FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1958

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Good

\* \* \*

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

Importation of Soviet "culture" into the United States is nothing new. A one-way "cultural exchange" has been going on for many years. The Communist Party has seen to that, as J. Edgar Hoover shows in his revealing best-seller, "Masters of Deceit." In detailing the process of making the "communist man," Mr. Hoover explains:

"The Party's literature program (comprising newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books) is a companion to Party schools in helping to create communist man...

163

"Amazing circulations have been achieved. Editions of Lenin's Imperialism, and State and Revolution, totaling 100,000 copies each, were issued. Other pamphlets were printed in editions totaling 307,000; 275,000; 350,000; 440,000.

167 X

"Everything possible has been done to make available in English the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, <sup>and Stalin</sup> During the period 1948-55, it is stated in a report of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the writings of Lenin were more widely translated than the Bible."

168 X

It is pointed out that every facet of the person's life, even when he plays the piano, sings, goes to a movie, sees a painting, or reads a book, <sup>should</sup> can be saturated with communism. To the communist, art doesn't exist for art's sake. Art, Lenin taught, is a weapon of the class struggle.

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(MORE)

see above, 2/19/58

. INSTALMENT THIRTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx struggle.

Thus there is a constant barrage of "cultural" propaganda. There are art exhibits, folk dances, theater groups, nationality bazaars. Many of these are carried on through "front" groups and hence not labeled as communist. Short stories, novels, and poetry come in steady streams. Forums extol the virtue of Soviet life. Here, the communists say, is the new "people's culture," bringing the "real truth."

169

The theme is always the same: Russia and communism represent a new world of "hope," "promise," and "achievement," creating "communist man" in all his "remarkable spiritual qualities." It is claimed that the Soviet soldier in World War II spent his time reading Shakespeare and Tolstoy while the "uncultured" GI read "trash!"

169

This "cultural" process begins in the kindergarten. In Buffalo, Mr. Hoover reveals in "Masters of Deceit," a woman member of the Communist Party announced a class for children ages five to seven in the basement of her home. Ironically, it was called "Sunday school" because it was held on Sunday. But, the member promised, this school would not teach "the word of God or in any way teach religion." The instruction would be in the fundamentals of Marxism.

169

Naturally the Party arranges the publication of books for children. One, "Our Lenin," is a story of Lenin's life, translated and adapted "for American children." In this an American worker is quoted: "It (the Soviet Union) will last forever, and we here will follow its example."

170

Communist writers are "reinterpreting" American history, making it appear that the Party is today the true inheritor of the traditions of 1776. They identify such men as Paine, Jefferson and Lincoln as "advanced fighters" for the ideals that the communists claim they now represent. The Daily Worker on Lincoln's Birthday, 1953, said,

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(MORE)

INSTALMENT THIRTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx said,

"Lincoln's heritage is carried forward mainly by the working class and its Marxist party." 1171

They exalt such writers as Walt Whitman, claiming, for instance, that Whitman's poetry expresses their aims. The Party conducts an annual pilgrimage to Whitman's tomb in Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, N J. 171

In the following instalment of "Masters of Deceit," Mr. Hoover continues the inside story of the all-pervading efforts of the Communist Party to conquer the United States from within.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT THIRTEEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Unquestionably, the ultimate aim of the Communist Party is the establishment of a Soviet America. Never for a moment in more than a generation have Communists in the United States forgotten their allegiance to the Soviet Union. 192

The Communist Party, USA, is a weapon of attack, at work now. To Party leaders each day is a day of preparation and dress rehearsal for the day when they hope to come to power. Each day there are objectives: noncommunist ranks must be infiltrated and subverted. The success of the world communist mission depends on capturing the enemy's stronghold from within. 191

To this end, as indicated in previous instalments of this account, the Party employs a variety of mass-agitation techniques. The communist is in the market places of America: in organizations, on street corners, even at your front door. He is trying to influence and control your thoughts. Mass agitation weakens the noncommunist enemy and builds Party structure. 191

Party leaders realize that communists are a minority who cannot march straight to victory. The approach (tactics) must be varied, flexible, and constantly subject to change. 192

To communists, strategy means the determining and carrying out of long-range goals (such as winning a war), whereas tactics are the working out of strategy on a day-to-day basis (winning particular battles and engagements). "Tactics," Stalin said, "are a part of strategy, subordinate and subservient to it."

(MORE)

INSTALMENT THIRTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx it."

To achieve the long-range goal, retreats and maneuvers sometimes are necessary. Is it not like climbing an unexplored mountain? Lenin asked. How can we "renounce beforehand the idea that at times we might have to go in zigzags, sometimes retracing our steps, sometimes abandoning the course once selected and trying various others?" he said.

That explains the communist phrase, "strategic retreat." It means: Don't be afraid to take two steps backward today if it will help to achieve three steps forward tomorrow. Keep the goal always in mind, teach the communists; remember that the enemy is superior in numbers, better armed, more experienced. Communists must be willing to endure hardships.

Lenin urged: "...if you are not inclined to crawl in the mud on your belly, you are not a revolutionary but a chatterbox..." Fight hard and be disciplined, "carefully, attentively and skilfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest 'fissure' among the enemies..." Seize "every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional." Lenin said, "Those who do not understand this fail to understand even a grain of Marxism..."

Hence communists use anything to advance the ultimate goal: offensive and defensive tactics, legal and illegal, long- and short-range policies. All are part of the over-all battle plan.

There is realization that the Party must not advance too rapidly. It must stop, consolidate, never lose contact with the masses. "...an advance without consolidating the positions already captured is an advance doomed to failure." Likewise, never make a permanent truce with the enemy. Don't be trapped by his lures, bribes, and promises. Cooperation or collaboration with non-communists must never be more than a "tactic." It must have as its actual long-range goal the weakening and discrediting of democracy and its eventual destruction. The task of the revolutionary leader is to gauge the comparative strength of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and decide what particular tactics are then most likely to promote revolution.

Their obligation to defend the interests of the Soviet Union dictates the tactics of communists in seeking to obstruct and undermine public confidence in our foreign policy.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT THIRTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx policy.

Thus, seizing upon the inherent desire of all Americans to reduce taxes, <sup>Daily</sup> ~~The Worker~~ editorialized that foreign aid should be curtailed and billions should not be taken "out of our pockets for a new phony 'emergency.'...The huge seventy-billion a year 'defense' budget is rushing America to inflation, and economic crisis." Actually, communists want an economic crisis to develop. X

They advocate unrestricted trade between the United States and Russia because Russia would benefit. Thus the <sup>COMMUNIST</sup> ~~periodical~~ Political Affairs urges, "The only remaining untapped market for U.S. goods is the Soviet Union, China and the Peoples' Democracies, in which the threat of crises of overproduction has been removed forever..." X

In seeking to curry favor with union labor, communists employ tactics incorporating demands for higher wages, a shorter work week, increased vacations, and controls on living costs. To that end a communist labor union tactician calls for putting "...ideological differences aside in order to work together in behalf of a single immediate objective or a number of immediate objectives...the unions must work together..." 193

Tactics are also employed by the communists to find favor with Negroes. The controversy on integration ~~in the South~~ has given the United States communists a field day. X

Communists have a program "...to stimulate broad united-front actions in the rural communities in defense of the economic interests of the farming masses"; "to weld youth unity"; and to "work still harder" for rights of mothers.

A primary tactic of the Communist Party is to preserve the legal status of the Party. Thus, any organization which has the duty to investigate or expose communist activity is singled out for attack. For years the Party has campaigned against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, and the Senate Investigating Committee. The Department of Justice and the FBI have not been spared, and we have come to judge our effectiveness by the intensity of communist attacks.

The Red Fascists have long followed the practice of making full use of democratic liberties: elections, lawful agitation and propaganda, and free speech, press, and assembly. At the same time, they do not hesitate to use illegal methods, such as underground operations, terrorism, espionage, sabotage, lying, cheating.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT THIRTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER xx cheating.

"We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we do so. Terror is a form of military operation that may be usefully applied....", Lenin advised. Morality is regarded as strictly a bourgeois device. To the communists everything that promotes the revolution is moral, legal, and beautiful.

Many persons in the United States have been confused by the Party's abrupt twists and turns, such as denouncing the United States as an "imperialist" nation from 1939 to 1941, then overnight, after Russia's entrance into the war, hailing America as a great ally. These "changes in the Party line" are merely shifting tactics in the overall design to promote the ultimate goal of world revolution. They are not changes in heart.

The Communist Party, USA, has been and is engaged in an all-out war against American freedom. Its tactics of confusion, retreat, advance, infiltration, and hypocrisy are in full play today. The attack is both legal and illegal, offensive and defensive, open and concealed.

Above the surface a gigantic propaganda and agitation campaign is in progress, a campaign that depends for its success upon the unwitting support of noncommunists. Basic communist strategy dictates that noncommunist hands, knowingly or unknowingly, must, under communist guidance, advance the influence of the communist world.

To understand communist strategy and tactics, as designed to destroy democratic government, the individual must first comprehend the scope of ABOVE-GROUND communist operations, such as mass-agitation campaigns, infiltration techniques, front organizations, etc.

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(TAILPIECE)

In tomorrow's instalment of "Masters of Deceit,"

Mr. Hoover details how by mass-agitation tactics, communists deliberately set one group against another for the purpose of exploiting dissension--of "dividing and conquering." Don't miss Saturday's revealing chapter by the man in the best position to know the inside story of the communist conspiracy to conquer the U.S.

(END TAILPIECE)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How  
to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

*Good*

(PRECEDE)

The success communism has enjoyed thus far in  
~~NON-COMMUNIST~~  
~~republican or democratic~~ countries in escaping isolation  
and treatment as an agency of Soviet conquest, has been  
of decisive aid to the <sup>INTERNATIONAL</sup> <sup>MOVEMENT</sup> Communist International. In  
country after country--Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia,  
Hungary and so on--a small minority dedicated fanatically  
to the purposes of communism has been enabled to effect a  
conquest from within by exploiting and perverting the  
freedoms enjoyed by people under republican or democratic  
forms of government.

+

X

The Red Fascists are taking full advantage of democratic  
liberties in the United States: free elections, freedom of  
speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, lawful  
agitation and propaganda, J. Edgar Hoover emphasized in  
yesterday's instalment of this first serialization of his  
revealing best seller book, "Masters of Deceit." At the  
same time, it is shown by the record of their activities the  
FBI has secured, the communists do not hesitate to use any  
illegal means such as terrorism, violence, espionage,  
sabotage, cheating, lying. ~~Their bible.~~ The writings of  
Lenin, instructs them, "We have never rejected terror on  
principle, nor can we do so. Terror is a form of military  
operation that may be usefully applied." They have been  
taught to believe that morality is strictly a bourgeois  
weakness. To them, everything that promotes the revolution  
is moral, legal, and beautiful.

X

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*See page 2-3  
4/24/58*

(MORE)



Terror and force are not necessary where they can subvert by the techniques of mass agitation. In today's instalment, the man who is in the best position to know the full extent of the communist conspiracy reveals the workings of these techniques of thought-control of Party members, fellow travelers, sympathizers and dupes.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT FOURTEEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Communist Party's approach and attack is adjusted to the fact that there is a variety of conflicting interests in a nation. It endeavors to "sell" something to each of these interests. Through its mass agitation techniques it seeks to exploit any and all of the grievances, hopes, aspirations, prejudices, fears and ideals in the various social, religious, economic, racial and political groups that make up the nation. Its tactic is, "Stir them up. Set one group against another. That's the way to soften up a democracy. Divide and conquer."

The following sums up the instruction given by a top leader of the Party in the United States on how to spread the Party's influence:

"Study your friends. See what they spontaneously talk about. What problem is of most immediate concern to each?

"Is he a worker skilled in his craft but without a job?

"A storekeeper? Maybe business isn't so good.

"A trade-union man, a dairy farmer, a young man just out of school, a member of a minority group, a young mother worrying about sending her child to school? Each has a problem through which he can be approached.

"Unless each one of us grasps the significance of this individual approach to every one of our friends and acquaintances, we are in danger of being ineffective."

The Communist Party realizes that specialized agitation must be carried on in each field: among women, among youth, among veterans, among racial and nationality groups, farmers, trade unions. As we indicated in a previous chapter, each is the responsibility of Party commissions.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FOURTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx commissions.

Take, for example, youth, naturally a prime target of communist attack. Communists start their attack with this major premise: Imperialism aims to create a corrupt, completely militarized youth-- a "gagged," "scared" generation. This theme is expounded by word of mouth, in forums, in literature, in cartoons.

The approach is considered from two viewpoints: (1) <sup>deceptive</sup> the line designed for public consumption and thought-control and (2) the real Party line designed to advance communism. This deceptive line for youth takes such forms as these appeals:

1. "Increase trade with all countries, including the communist bloc, to provide hundreds of thousands of new jobs for young people."
2. "Outlaw all mass destruction weapons (atomic bomb)."
3. "Promote universal disarmament and peace."
4. "Reduce military expenditures and repeal the draft."
5. "Repeal all repressive legislation and restore the Bill of Rights."
6. "Restore full academic freedom for students and faculties."
7. "Promote world-wide youth friendship for peace and democracy; drop all bars to the travel of youth."
8. "Appropriate more money for schools, community centers, etc."

The communists, have similarly appealing lines of attack to other groups.

They may advocate legitimate aspirations of these groups, such as: lower taxes, higher wages, better housing, old-age security, higher farm income. To support these aims, and many others, is not communism. The Party is exploiting such interests for its own selfish aims. They are simply Party "talking points," bait with which to entrap the unwary.

"Restore the Bill of Rights," means in communist language the elimination of legal opposition to communism, stopping all prosecution of communists, and granting amnesty to those communists who are serving prison terms for conspiracy, espionage, etc.

"Repeal the draft law" and "peace" mean in communist language, curtailing our national defense effort and allowing Russia to become militarily stronger than the United States.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FOURTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx States.

"Increase trade with the Soviet Bloc" means ~~removal of any~~ ~~contracts on the export of~~ selling materials that could be used by the communist nations for armaments. X

"Restore academic freedom" means, in communist language, removing any ban on teaching of communist doctrine in all schools and allowing communists to infiltrate teaching staffs freely. Notice the communist use of the word "restore," indicating that freedom is already gone and that the Party stands for its return.

The aim of the Communist Party in exploiting these and similar slogans is to render the country incapable of protecting itself from its enemy.

The Party, through its specialized appeals, is able to gain entree into various groups and create favorable conditions for future revolutionary action. Thus very quickly, for example:

- a veterans' meeting endorses "peace."
- a nationality festival passes a resolution for "peace."
- a youth affair favors "peace."
- a neighborhood group comes out for "peace."
- a women's rally fights for "peace."

As stated above, "peace" to communists means making the country unable to resist Soviet aggression.

Whatever its aims or composition, a group once infiltrated, and under communist control, is switched to the Party line. The feigned interest of the communists in legitimate demands is merely a trap.

Holidays are exploited to enhance the Party's aims. For example the Party's blatant mouthpiece in New York, <sup>Daily</sup> The Worker, headlined a story "Mothers' Day to Be Marked by Peace Tables..." Postcards should be distributed on Mother's Day, the story informed the Party members and fellow travelers, "declaring the deepest need of all American mothers to be a ban on A-and H-bombs...." X

Also planned, the story said, were special Mother's Day leaflets and placards as well as balloons for the children reading "World-Wide Ban of A-and H-bombs."

Many people believe sincerely, for <sup>MANY</sup> ~~many~~ reasons, that these bombs should be banned. However, to communists, the objective to be gained by agitating for "peace" and bans on the A- and H-bombs is weakening the United States and advancing Russian aggressive aims. X

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FOURTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx aims.

In whatever group the communists infiltrate, discussion may start with better working conditions on the second shift or equal pay for women, but it probably will end with the endorsement of "peace"; "amnesty for the Smith Act victims"; "repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act," or some other communist objective.

Scattered, variegated, and inarticulate interests, under the guiding hands of infiltrators, are brought into a common denominator: support for the Party line.

The Party line is the sum total of all things Party workers are backing at any given time. The line must not be judged by its parts, which may include objectives that are legitimate on the surface. It is important to realize that the records of communists everywhere they have seized control show communists don't really care about genuine social reforms or freedoms. Their professed demands for these are strictly for agitational purposes.

William Z. Foster <sup>low-tie communist leader,</sup> states candidly: "Our Party is a revolutionary Party. It aims not simply to ease conditions a bit under capitalism for the workers but to abolish capitalism altogether." By that he means, of course, to ~~abolish anything except~~ <sup>establish a</sup> Soviet dictatorship. +

The attack is primarily directly agitational. Propaganda, although valuable, is regarded as a long-range softener of resistance to be handled chiefly on an intellectual level by the educational department of the Party; agitation is immediate, inflammatory, conducive to acute discontent - work for a specialist in the field.

Lenin's distinction between propaganda and agitation is decisive. A propagandist will, in "explaining" unemployment, talk about the capitalist nature of the crisis, the need for building a socialist society, etc. "Many ideas" must be expounded, "so many ~~indeed~~ ~~that~~ they will be understood as a whole only by a (comparatively) few persons." +

The agitator, on the other hand, selects one well-known aspect of the problem, such as "the death from starvation of the family of an unemployed worker." He will concentrate on imparting a single idea to the masses: capitalism was why this family died. The rule for agitators is, ~~Evoked~~ ~~discontent~~ and revolt now. ~~Leave~~ a more complete explanation...to the propagandist." +

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FOURTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx propagandist."

Communist procedure in a case in which a man we'll call John Doe was arrested for murder, is an example of Party agitation at work.

Crime always brings sorrow. It reflects maladjustment in society and points up abuses that genuinely need correction. But the communists aren't interested in John Doe. They do not try to discover the true facts in his case, study his background, or improve his condition. To them, his case is simply one that can be exploited for propaganda purposes.

The Party machinery springs into action. The communist press publicizes the case with pictures, an interview with the jailed man, stories about his family. There is no regard for the truth or the suffering of the victim of the crime or the sorrow of his loved ones.

If the arrested person is a member of a minority group or a military service veteran, or the father of ten children, or a union member, or unemployed, the agitational appeal is based on that circumstance. "Union Member Framed on Murder Charge." "Unemployed Veteran Railroaded to Jail" "Father of 10 Arrested on False Charges." Almost always the charge of "police brutality" is thrown in too.

Such campaigns are sometimes carried on for months or years, with varying degrees of intensity. The Party is a self-appointed collector of "victims" of "framed evidence," "lynch justice," "Gestapo brutality," "academic witchhunts."

The Communist Party's gallery of "martyrs of injustice" include Sacco and Vanzetti and the Scottsboro Case, now remembered only in "memorials"; and more recent ones, such as the "Martinsville Seven," the "Trenton Six", or the Rosenbergs.

The results obtained for the Party determine the extent and the length of the agitation of such a case. Does it arouse the interest of large numbers of persons? Is a prominent public official involved--one who can be undermined and smeared? Does agitation of the case aid other communist ventures directly or indirectly? Can it help the Party gain recruits? (Mass agitation is always linked with Party building.) Can it be profitable to the Party? A "defense fund" for some person exploited by the Party as a "martyr" to "injustice" can bring the Party hundreds of thousands of dollars for its war chest.

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INSTALMENT FOURTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx chest.

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Tomorrow: Mr. Hoover details how communists prey on non-communists and dupe them into giving their names or their money to aid Communist Party agitational objectives.

(end tailpiece.)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

Both Stalin and Malenkov, <sup>AT THE TIME OF</sup> ~~in their speeches to~~ the 19th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1952, ~~(reported in the New York Times, Oct. 4, 1952)~~, made it clear that <sup>confidentially with</sup> ~~until~~ the United States and other leading "imperialist" states are <sup>was only a temporary situation.</sup> ~~destroyed, there can be no peace.~~ That there has been no change of feeling since then on the part of Soviet leaders is indicated by Nikita Khrushchev's boast in an interview telecast by a United States network: "I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism..." And, as J. Edgar Hoover revealed in an earlier instalment of this first serialization of his bestseller book, "Masters of Deceit," William Z. Foster, long a leader of the Communist Party in this country, dedicated a book "To My Great-Grandson Joseph Manley Kolko Who Will Live in a Communist United States." <sup>PROPAGANDA</sup> The Worker, the voice of the Communist Party in New York, ~~which was supposed to have been throttled and buried when John Gates was forced out of the Party,~~ continues to appear weekly and cue the agitation by Party members and fellow travelers to "peace" drives of "front" organizations set up by the Party to promote disarmament of the U.S. These organizations also are designed to set religious, social, racial or economic groups against each other. "Stir them up. Set one group against another. That's the way to soften up a democracy. Divide and conquer," is the strategy of the Communist Party in the United States, J. Edgar Hoover emphasizes in "Masters of Deceit."

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INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER xx Deceit."

In yesterday's instalment, Mr. Hoover alerted readers to communist agitational tactics designed to dupe non-communists into supporting Communist Party objectives. Today, to prepare readers further to resist being victimized by communists, he details the operations of a typical communist campaign in which a few fanatical Reds may influence thousands of persons to sign petitions, donate money to a "defense fund" and help break down law enforcement or protective measures against Soviet aggression.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT FIFTEEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

We have a long record of how the Communist Party has searched out incidents it could magnify and exploit for agitation: the eviction of a family, the arrest of a Negro, the proposal of a rise in city transit fares, an impending increase in taxes, the dismissal of a teacher, a shooting ~~of a suspected criminal~~ by law-enforcement officers. X

Some of the cases upon which it has fastened have, unfortunately, reflected mistakes in the administration of justice or blemishes on the face of American society. The others were deliberately twisted by the Party into "victims of capitalist terror," "lynch justice," "academic witch-hunts," "Gestapo brutality," ~~"arbitrary freedom"~~ and such. +

As indicated in the previous chapter, the results obtained for the Party rather than for the "victim" or the family of the "martyr" are what determine the extent to which the Party will conduct its agitation. Will the agitation helping the Party smear one of its opponents? Will it help the Party gain recruits? Will it bring money into the Party's war chest, through a "defense fund" or some other device? The answers to these questions guide the decision of the Party leaders regarding the agitation. +

Once the decision has been made, the probable first step is the formation of an XYZ Committee to Save John Doe: a communist front, born at 9:00 A.M., full grown by 10:30 A.M., mailing out letters by

(MORE)



INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx by

noon. This device gives the illusion of organized interest, focuses attention, and masks communist participation.

When starting a mass-agitation campaign the Party knows that the success of the tactic depends on securing noncommunist support. Members contact community leaders, such as judges, members of the city council, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, educators, social workers, for statements or testimonials.

In such cases, the communist is no longer a shadowy figure deep underground or meeting secretly at night. He is knocking on doors, seeing prominent people, attending city council meetings.

"I feel that John Doe has been wrongly arrested (or convicted, as the case may be). I am compelled in the interests of justice to demand that he be released," is a typical testimonial sent to authorities and the press as a result of communist activity.

The technique of obtaining testimonials is to start with a fellow traveler, one who will authorize his name for any communist campaign. Some are so "controlled" that headquarters uses their names without consultation, even preparing their statements. Others are contacted on each occasion.

The specialists in agitation next reach out for prominent persons known to be sympathizers with some special cause. These may be officers of communist "front" organizations. Their imposing official titles make them good signers for the Party's purpose. Finally, the Specialist reaches down among unsuspecting non-communists, the contacts being made either in person or <sup>the</sup> on/telephone. The conversation would run something like this:

"Mr. X, I'm So-and-So from the XYZ Committee to Save John Doe. I was just over at Mr. Y's office: You know him, don't you?"

"Yes," will come the reply. That gets the interview off to a good start.

"This is a case I am sure will interest you. You are a lawyer and here is an individual who is the victim of injustice....Have you heard about it?"

"No." That's good, the field is clear for the communist to present whatever lying statements he wants to use to rope in the prospect,

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx prospect.

He goes on, "Dr. F, Rev. O, etc., have given statements..."

The man signs, another victim. Did he know the communist identity of the solicitor? No. Did he know that the XYZ Committee to Save John Doe was a communist front? No. Did he realize that by making the statement he was aiding the communist movement? No!

For sincere, honest reasons of their own, entirely unrelated to communism, many individuals may support John Doe. To call them communists is an injustice, but it is not unjust to point out that the Party always seeks to exploit such personal convictions for partisan propaganda.

The letterhead of the "XYZ Committee to Save John Doe" will probably have an impressive list of names. In an instance cited in a previous chapter, the Party's New York organ, <sup>Daily</sup> ~~The~~ Worker, announced the formation of an "Emergency Civil Liberties Committee" with 150 founders from <sup>39</sup> ~~35~~ States, including 50 who were educators, clergymen and members of other influential professions--law, science, medicine, the theater. X T

Communist strategy dictates that the cause of communism must be linked with as many elements in society as possible. "Our fight for John Doe is your fight," the communists say to labor unions, Negro, professional, cultural, and nationality groups. "Today it's John Doe who is being persecuted. Tomorrow it'll be your turn. Join with us and we'll fight together," their scheming argument runs.

The Party claims "We communists join with every other democratic-minded American, irrespective of views, in the common fight to preserve a common democratic heritage."

Lenin instructed: seize allies everywhere. Use them for the advantage of furthering communism.

By securing even the temporary allegiance of an individual, as in a testimonial, the Party gains. In this way communist propaganda enters the orbit of that individual's personal influence. "Why," a friend will say after reading the testimonial, "if So-and-So endorses that organization (or issue), it must be OK."

The dupe becomes a communist thought-control relay station. That's why communists are always eager to secure the support of doctors, clergymen, teachers, and other persons usually highly

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx highly

respected in their communities. The more widely known the person, the better for the communists' exploitation of him.

~~Circulating~~ <sup>another</sup> ~~Getting up~~ petitions is a favorite communist technique for capturing noncommunist support. X

A young woman stands on the sidewalk. A housewife, carrying a package, comes out of the grocery store.

"Pardon me," the young woman says, approaching her. "Wouldn't you like to help a young man win his freedom?"

The appeal is attractive. The housewife stops. "We have a petition to the governor asking for the release of John Doe. He's sentenced to die..."

The housewife looks at the petition. It contains nothing communist. There is no hammer or sickle or mention of Russia. It is just a statement that we the undersigned believe that John Doe should be released. "You can help a lot by signing....," she is told. She signs. So do thousands of others.

Party teams with petitions operate everywhere, on street corners, at factory gates, in bus terminals.

"Sign here, please."

"Won't you send a telegram or write a letter? Here's a sample all fixed up. Just sign it."

"Would you like a leaflet?" "Won't you call the governor's office?"

"Come to our rally tonight." "Write a letter to the newspaper."

"Is your club meeting soon? Have it pass a resolution."

"Your pastor can help. Have him call a protest meeting."

Simultaneously a "woman's group" in Oregon, a "farmers' meeting" in Oklahoma, a "consumers' conference" in West Virginia pass resolutions: "Save John Doe!"

The pressure exerted by the Party gets results in the form of thousands of letters, resolutions, and telegrams, perhaps a hundred times the number of all Party members in the United States.

The cases of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro boys, the "Martinsville Seven," and "the Trenton Six," were cited previously as examples of communist agitation. To the Party's purposeful agitators, the conviction of the Rosenbergs for treason was simply another capitalistic "frame-up."

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx "frame-up."

Campaigns involving court cases as a general rule provide the most sustained agitation. These ~~are~~<sup>can be</sup> divided into various exploitation stages, ~~by the Party's experts in agitation.~~

The arrest stage: the "victim" has been illegally arrested. The charges are "trumped up."

The trial stage: "false evidence" is being used, the jury is "packed," a fair trial is "impossible."

The appeal stage (assuming the defendant is found guilty): in most instances a guilty verdict serves the communist purpose best. Otherwise, little propaganda opportunity is left, except for a few self-congratulatory articles. The communists use every device, inside and outside the courtroom, to break down the American judicial system.

The clemency stage is often best suited to communist agitation. The Party has a whole series of tested tactics for such occasions. Here are a few:

Mass meetings. Rallies. Demonstrations. Picket lines. These, also used in other exploitation stages, now become imbued with "gravity."

"John Doe Will Die in 2 Weeks. Wire the Governor. Demand His Release." "Save My Boy, Please. He's Innocent." "Where's America's Conscience? This Man Has Been Framed."

Organized treks. Pilgrimages. Motorcades. Encampments. The convergence on a selected spot, the state capital or Washington, D.C., of members and sympathizers from all over the country.

They arrive in trucks, rented buses, by train. "Get your tickets, meet at the station, don't miss the Clemency Train."

An operational headquarters is set up in the target city, usually under a Party Aesopian name such as "Liberty House" or "Inspiration Center."

Teams visit offices of legislators, officials of the government and demand to see the governor or President. To build up an impression that "millions" are demanding clemency, a cascade of telegrams, letters, petitions, resolutions pours in, promoted by comrades back home.

"The city was stirred today by the nation's demand for clemency for John Doe..." writes the Party's press agent. Possibly 250 communists and their sympathizers were in town.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx town.

The hour of judicial decision or execution nears. The drama is heightened. "Prayer meetings" are held by communists, who do not believe in prayer.

Then the super climax: a "vigil." The comrades start a marching line, twenty-four hours around the clock, demanding "mercy," "clemency." One day, two days, five days, twelve days, the line moves back and forth in front of the governor's mansion, or more dramatic, the White House.

Placards read: "Mercy for John Doe." "Mr. Governor, Don't You Have a Heart?" Any testimonials secured from prominent individuals bob and weave in the marching line. Leaflets are handed out.

Every two hours, by arrangement, a new shift appears. Paraders walk silently, sometimes in single file, at other times two abreast, usually six to eight feet apart. This isn't supposed to be a flamboyant affair, but sad and mournful, designed to capture the emotions. Death is near! "Clemency Now - Only 12 Hours Left." "Can America Allow an Innocent Man to Die?"

The shift is over. The members whisk back to "Liberty House," grab a bite to eat, hear a pep talk, then return for another "tour of duty." Cots are available for sleep.

Following this technique, a few fanatical comrades can attract the attention of thousands. So long as John Doe is alive he must be exploited.

At the imprisonment stage (assuming that every legal delaying tactic of Party lawyers has failed): the defendant becomes a show-piece. He is visited by his wife (called a "prison wife") and his family, and delegations go to see him. Sentimental and heart-tearing accounts are written and fed into Party or Party-line organs.

Birthday-card campaigns are initiated. "Send John Doe a Christmas greeting." His letters from prison become quotable "scripture."

A nine-year-old son visits him...the child is shocked by the "watchtowers," "gigantic searchlights," "locked iron doors"...the visit is over...the little boy tells his mother, "After all, if Daddy didn't have such good political ideas he wouldn't be there in the first place." (He is a Smith Act "victim.")

The communist press will invariably represent that the evidence was framed, or the State's key witness had committed perjury.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx perjury.

Or the Party will have a defense for the crime that will cause the person not familiar with the facts or the record of the trial to wonder. And the longer the lapse of time, the more real the trumped-up defense will sound to the uninformed.

This agitational process may be carried on for years. For example, "the Women's Committee for Equal Justice" was not disbanded until seven years after Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons had been convicted and sentenced in a Georgia court for the slaying of a neighbor.

There may be some attention given by the agitators in the post-imprisonment stage but most of the propaganda value of the case to the Party is gone when this stage is reached. If the "victim" is dead, "memorial" services may occasionally be held or articles written about his "heroism" or "martyrdom."

In espionage cases, the Party agitation tactic may be designed to induce the arrested person to think he is a "martyr" and hence that any cooperation with the American government, such as implicating others or giving vital information, would be a betrayal. Better to have him executed than to let him be alive to expose other communists, is a Party tenet.

Obviously these campaigns are also designed to dramatize communists and their fronts as "champions" of the masses. They foster the illusion that these individuals are progressive, enlightened, and humanitarian, acting in the best interests of free people.

That, of course, is an illusion. The real motive is to prepare both the Party and noncommunist society for revolutionary action. Members gain experience in mass work: propaganda and agitation, organizing social discontent, guiding large numbers. Leadership, discipline, and organizational structure can be tested.

Moreover, communists want to make workers and the masses class-conscious, accepting the Party as their leader (in Party terms called radicalizing the masses). Sow seeds of discontent; weaken, divide, and neutralize anticommunist opposition; above all, undermine the American judicial process; that is the ticket.

Law enforcement has long been a target of communist attack. As legal opposition crystallized, these Party attacks, especially on the FBI, prosecutive officials, and police, have mounted in intensity.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT FIFTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx intensity.

Lenin taught that it was essential for every "real people's revolution" to destroy the existing "state machinery." Wherever communists have won any measure of control, their first step was to hamstring and incapacitate law enforcement.

The communist performance in the Indian state of Kerala is a good illustration. Within a few months after a procommunist government came into control, "peoples' action committees" were formed which began to usurp the functions of the law courts. Then the state police were handcuffed by orders to stand on the sidelines except when crimes such as murder, rape, arson, and assault occurred.

Many communists were freed from jail, and public statements were issued that many penal institutions would be closed and their grounds turned into flower gardens. A noncommunist official of the Indian government reported a "complete breakdown of law and order."

Experience over the years has demonstrated that every time communists are able to avert justice through technicalities, there is not only jubilation in Party circles but also increased urgings for more brazen Party action.

Day-to-day agitations and other activities of the Party are battle-hardening dress rehearsals for revolution. William Z. Foster boasted, "...capitalism will die sword in hand, fighting in vain to beat back the oncoming revolutionary proletariat."

Often communists find it effective to remain in the background and carry out an agitation campaign through organizations not generally recognized as procommunist. These can be either (1) old-time organizations which have been "infiltrated," or (2) newly established communist fronts.

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Tomorrow: Mr. Hoover tells how communists have infiltrated some of our oldest and most respected institutions and organizations. Don't miss his fighting description of how this subtle and sinister "Trojan Horse" tactic is advancing their revolutionary designs.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

*Good*

(precede)

In accordance with Communist Party strategic and tactical plans of attack on a nation from within, devoted but concealed members of the Party move into noncommunist organizations for the purpose of exercising influence over the organization for communist purposes. If control is secured, the organization becomes a communist front, carrying along with it many persons who may be noncommunists and unaware of the fact that they are supporting a communist conspiracy against ~~the security of~~ their *own* country, ~~from Soviet aggression.~~

This process, *communistic infiltration* is followed in all countries, but it is pressed to the utmost in the strongest of the opponents of Soviet Russia, namely the United States. It enables a comparatively few communists to wield tremendous influence.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, cites case histories of communist infiltration into organizations in the United States in today's instalment of this first serialization of his revealing bestseller, "Masters of Deceit."

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INSTALMENT SIXTEEN

By J. Edgar Hoover,

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Infiltration for the purpose of exercising influence in non-communist organizations is one of the oldest of communist tactics, advocated specifically by Lenin and Stalin. Georgi Dimitroff, the then General Secretary, exhorted the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International:

(more)

*Handwritten notes on the left margin, partially illegible.*



INSTALMENT SIXTEEN

xx International:

"Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp."

Dimitroff said, "We...should not be shy about using the same tactics..."

Trojan horse tactics have enabled the Party to wield an influence far in excess of its actual numbers.

The Party takes advantage of any situation. There was a heartless instance of its Trojan horse tactics during an emergency in a small town in West Virginia. Outside assistance was needed by its families generally. ~~Members of~~ <sup>General</sup> labor union in Cleveland, O., raised money to buy food for <sup>general</sup> distribution in the stricken area. The Communist Party organizer in Cleveland instructed a concealed Party member of the union to see that all the food was delivered to one specified address in the town, where it would do the most "good."

Here a noncommunist organization was paying the bill, believing that it was doing a generous act of charity. Yet concealed communists within its ranks were subverting the generosity to communist ends. Since the Party ~~obtained~~ <sup>took</sup> control over the distribution, who do you think got credit for the generosity?

The FBI knows that such incidents are frequent. Through such manipulation the Communist Party has repeatedly controlled the conventions of noncommunist organizations and determined the selection of officers. An idea originated in a Party office can, through this technique, be translated within days or hours into interviews with high government officials, into intensive agitation campaigns, or even, as has happened, into disruption of industrial production. Is it any wonder the Party seeks to infiltrate labor unions, the government, civic and community groups, religious, professional, economic, and social organizations? It aims to make these organizations, in various ways, serve Party interests.

United States  
Communists probably have worked harder to infiltrate/labor unions than any other segment of the population. Since the days of Lenin, both unorganized and organized labor have been a favorite target of Communist attack. The Russian dictator was explicit:

(more)

INSTALMENT SIXTEEN

xx explicit:

"It is necessary to...agree to any and every sacrifice, and even-- if need be--to resort to all sorts of stratagems, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs." (X)

We know that an overwhelming majority of American labor-union members are honest, hard-working, loyal citizens. They detest communism. This has been proven time after time. Alerted to the presence of communists, they will cast them out. Most of the Party's gains achieved prior to and during World War II in the labor movement have now been destroyed.

These defeats, however, have not halted the danger resulting from infiltration tactics. "At least 90 percent of all of our efforts," one Party writer asserted, must be devoted to industrial workers. Drawing on years of experience, the Party is today attacking labor unions in the United States with renewed vigor.

The best way to insure this assault's being defeated is to make communist tactics better known.

Once communists gain a foothold in a union local through infiltration by a single comrade, or better still, two or three, they proceed to try to form a shop communist club. Naturally, the degree of influence attained by the Party in the union, the shop, or the industry, will depend on what success it has in strategic placement of its organizers and devoted members.

One Communist Party manual directs that members mix with workers and cultivate friendships. "Especially must the Communist mingle with his fellow workers at noontime and participate in the general discussions and conversations that take place." (X) (X)

The manual instructs the member always to steer these noontime discussions into "economic and political channels," and thus provide opportunity to inject the communist propaganda. However, the member is told to be ~~certain~~ <sup>sure</sup> to phrase these injections in "our Marxian line" in "American slang." The Party realizes that communism can best be sold to the unsuspecting prospect in everyday language. (X) (X)

~~The manual specifies that~~ When a worker shows "interest", he is to be given a communist pamphlet to read. He is then to be invited to attend a meeting or a "study group." (X) (X)

(more)

INSTALMENT SIXTEEN

xx group."

The comrade who has won the "interest" of a worker is advised to try to stay with him after working hours. "The majority of our Party members become Communists only after working hours, around 6 P.M." For communists there is no such thing as an eight-hour day. (X)

The over-all work of infiltration, especially of shop clubs, is coordinated in Party strategy caucuses; that is, Party-called meetings where any problems of infiltration are studied. They are generally held on an industry basis, such as the automobile, steel, railroad, mining, and electrical industries, with party members employed in these fields attending.

These caucuses are literally strategy-devising meetings, where problems and procedures are analyzed with X-ray precision. Non-communists probably do not realize how carefully communists study "capitalist" companies, wage policies, personnel, etc., to decide how the company and the union <sup>can</sup> be used to implement the Party line, as support for a Party drive for a Soviet concept of "peace", for the Smith Act "victims", or to aid some current Party "martyr". (X)

Let's look in on one Party caucus, ~~of which there is an FBI record.~~ (X)

Leslie -----, from the northwestern part of the state was reporting on the solicitation by his shop club of signatures for a "peace" petition.

"We got seven hundred and four signatures in a little over three days last week. ~~It's tough going though.~~" (X)

"Keep at it," the organizer responded. "Get more signature campaigns going."

"At our plant," another Party leader commented, "we started a committee to protect freedom of speech. It's a good issue and we've had some fine response. I think we ought to soon rally some support for the Smith Act victims. I hope we can get some contributions too,"

"Fine," the organizer added, "but always remember that we must stress our united-front campaign. We've got to show the workers in these right-wing unions that the Party stands for peace, higher wages, and better working conditions."

By "right wing" he meant noncommunist unions. He continued:

"What if most of the workers don't agree with us on communism? That doesn't keep them from working with us. We've got to convince them that we must all work together, that we have common aims."

(more)

INSTALMENT SIXTEEN

xx aims."

Such a caucus may decide that a special "deal" will enhance Party influence. The following instance which occurred in Cleveland, Ohio, is revealing:

"Howard," the organizer said, addressing one of the older members, "you've got to give up your job as editor of the union's newspaper."

"Give up..." the member said, surprised.

"Your time's running out. You're just about pegged as a communist. If you try to stay on another year, you'll be thrown out. That'll cause a rumpus and we'll lose ground. Step out now."

"OK," the member replied, accepting the instruction. "I think I can get Elmer ----- elected in my place. Dick ---- may want the job, so we've got to stop him."

"Right you are," the organizer said. "Dick is a vicious Red baiter. He's a faker and reactionary. I'd rather have the paper discontinued than have him as editor."

"Elmer isn't known as a communist," the member added. "Of course, if I support him it'll tag him somewhat, but..."

"That's our best approach, Howard," the organizer said. "Submit your resignation tomorrow. You'll catch Dick and his cronies off guard. Then push all you can for Elmer."

What follows now is a case history which reveals more fully the sinister process of infiltration. It happened in an organization that we shall call The 123 Group, typical of many trade-union, fraternal, civic, community, and nationality groups.

It involved a six-year struggle between the Communist Party--working through a group of open and concealed members, sympathizers, and dupes--and a noncommunist opposition, at first unorganized, hitting wildly, but later to become all-powerful.

The 123 Group was an influential and respected noncommunist organization. Even partly to control its actions would be of great value to the Party.

The ~~decision~~<sup>problem</sup> for communist headquarters was how best to attack. The obvious target, as in most organizations, was the officers. To control one officer, such as a president, secretary, or treasurer, is often worth ten, twenty, or fifty rank-and-file members.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT SIXTEEN

xx members.

Party tactics dictated that everything be done in the next elections to oust as many anticommunist officers as possible and replace them with pro-Party people or "neutrals."

All officers of The 123 Group were bitterly anticommunist except one, the secretary. He would have loudly protested if called a Party member, and he wasn't; but for many years he had maintained cordial contacts with Party officials.

He was, in every respect, a sympathizer. He was popular and had a large personal following among the rank and file. For this reason the anticommunists had not been able to defeat him. Here was the obvious weak point.

"We've got to draw up an entire slate of candidates," the Party organizer emphasized. "Let's call it the 'Reform Ticket.' We must include a few reactionaries. That'll hide our interest." Then the frank admission: "We must not show our hand. We'll run on a program acceptable to the right wing as much as possible. After we get in we'll take control."

The communist Trojan horse was jockeying for position.

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\* \* \*

Tomorrow Mr. Hoover continues his account of how the Communist Party infiltrated an influential and respected noncommunist organization. Don't miss the startling climax of a case history which reveals the sinister communist process of establishing a foothold in a group and eventually gaining control ~~and effect~~ *happen to* an organization to which you belong. *This could*

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

Communists use the term "united front" as they do "democracy," "civil rights," and "peace," that is, to deceive others. "United front" is intended to imply that they have joined ~~right-wing and centralist~~ <sup>with noncommunist</sup> organizations in a common stand mutually agreed upon, to press or oppose some political or economic issue. X

But to communists, "united front" has another meaning. It is a revolutionary tactic designed solely to secure the support of noncommunists for Communist Party objectives. Communists are interested in a "united front" as a means of infiltrating and manipulating noncommunist groups, for the purpose of turning them into "transmission belts" for <sup>"selling"</sup> communism to groups or masses of people. J. Edgar Hoover emphasized this in yesterday's instalment of this first serialization of "Masters of Deceit," his revealing best seller book about communism in the United States and how to fight it. X

He cited evidence collected by the FBI of how hidden Party members infiltrated strong noncommunist organizations in the United States in obedience to a dictum handed down by Lenin and proven to be true in communist conquest of country after country. The dictum is: "It is impossible to effect the dictatorship (of communism) without having a number of 'transmission belts' from the vanguard (the Communist Party) to the masses of the advanced class, and from the latter to the masses of <sup>The</sup> toilers." X

(MORE)

See memo  
given to Hoover  
3/6/58

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY: INSTALMENT SEVENTEEN xx toilers."

In yesterday's instalment, Mr. Hoover began detailing the FBI case history of a particularly effective and notable communist invasion of a noncommunist organization, which he identified merely as "The 123 Group." He continues the account today.

(END PRECEDE)

#### INSTALMENT SEVENTEEN

By J. Edgar Hoover

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

In the beginning of the communist penetration of "The 123 Group," which is representative of organizations to be found in any large city, all of the officers of the Group except one were bitterly anticommunist. The exception was the holder of the post communists knew from experience to be a key position in any organization, namely, secretary. He, "Mr. A," was not a Party member, but he had maintained cordial contacts with Party members. He was popular with the rank and file of the Group membership. Therefore, he was the weak spot in "The 123 Group" to the communists.

The Party organizer set his infiltration campaign going (as told yesterday) by drawing up a complete slate of candidates for officerships in the Group, tagged the "Reform Ticket." A few reactionaries were included, to help conceal the communist interest. Naturally, the secretary who had kept an "open mind" about communists was induced to run for reelection to that position on the "Reform Ticket." X

The chief problem to the communist strategists and tacticians was who to run for president. A known procommunist could not win. To support and build up an avowed anticommunist was out of the question. The answer: put up a vain and pliable opportunist.

The right choice was at hand, an ambitious man who disliked the current president. Lacking a dynamic personality, a "little backward," as one Party official called him, he could be "guided." He was just the man to head the ticket.

He was contacted by ~~supposed~~ sponsors of the "Reform Ticket" and told: Run for president and you'll receive "our" support. X

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY: INSTALMENT SEVENTEEN xx support.

The communists, of course, didn't openly identify themselves. The opportunist, if he suspected, probably didn't care. That is the character of an opportunist: his personal ambition is so great that it overrides every other consideration.

Now, the other noncommunist candidates on the "Reform Ticket" had to be chosen.

To communists there are different degrees of "foes." A "60 per cent" foe is better "working material" than a "100 per cent" foe. Another may be appraised as a 40 or even a 10 percenter. The procedure in drawing up such a slate is to find as many "low percenters" as possible. Also there is the practical factor, always to be remembered, of selecting candidates who can "pull" votes to the ticket.

After selection of the slate (which contained concealed communists along with noncommunists), there was the task of getting it elected.

This meant more carefully planned strategy; manipulation, and deals. The communists could count on only a small minority of the vote--their own members and a few sympathizers. Their tactic lay in exploiting existing jealousies, conflicts, and dissatisfactions among the majority noncommunists. That's how the Party is able to wield an influence far out of proportion to its numbers.

One kind of communist deal involves giving support to a noncommunist member of the group who is running for office in another organization in which the communists also have members. "Support our candidates here," the deal goes, "and we'll help you over there."

The communist who is a union official or company foreman may say to a noncommunist member of the group, "there could be a promotion for you at the plant, if..."

Another communist tactic is to urge "benevolent neutrality" upon those noncommunists who are wavering and might vote for the current officers; that's a good day for them to stay home or go fishing!

Result of communist application of its know-how: The "Reform Ticket" won a complete victory. So one-third of the officers, five Party members, of "The 123 Group" were controlled by Party

(MORE)



J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY: INSTALMENT SEVENTEEN

xx Party

headquarters. The rest of the membership were virtual prisoners without being aware of it for some time.

To infiltrate an organization is only a first step. It must be made to serve Party interests. There are many ways:

A concealed communist was running for public office. Motion was made that his candidacy be endorsed by "The 123 Group." There was a protest from the opponents, but the motion passed.

A communist "123 Group" member proposed: "John Doe is a victim of injustice. We should pass a resolution to be sent to the governor demanding his freedom...." An anticommunist protested, "It's not our business to be passing resolutions about such matters."

"A reactionary!" the spokesman for the communist line counter attacked. "Aren't you interested in justice?" This is a standard communist tactic: label your opponents as "Fascists," "reactionaries," "hardhearted." The vote was taken: motion passed.

The communists had established a Party <sup>front</sup> school under a deceptive name. As pointed out in a previous chapter, the communists exploit deceptively the names of Jefferson, Lincoln, Thomas Paine, Walt Whitman in the names of their <sup>clubs</sup> "schools" and "fronts."

A motion was made by a concealed communist member of "The 123 Group" that a contribution be made by the group to the school. The motion was carried. Consequently, noncommunists "shared" the Party's expense in operating the "school."

It is a standard infiltration tactic to seize, if possible, an organization's bulletin, house organ or newspaper. The purpose is, of course, to make it a Party mouthpiece, or at least to silence or weaken its criticism.

On one occasion, when "The 123 Group" was invited to send an official to testify before a congressional investigating committee about a certain economic development, the one chosen was a secret communist. To prepare himself to testify and take advantage of this congressional sounding board, he went to the Party and asked for copies of the Daily Worker and other communist background material!

A well-planned floor strategy for all club meetings is one secret of many Party successes. First, as one Party leader expressed it, "we want our mob present." No absences are allowed.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY: INSTALMENT SEVENTEEN xxallowed.

Every Party vote is needed. If a motion is to be made, who will present it? When? Early in the evening while the crowd is large? Or much later when many of the delegates, but not the communists, have gone home? How should objections be handled? If concessions must be made, which ones?

If a concealed communist is chairman of the meeting, the task is easier. He can use many parliamentary devices, such as not recognizing an opposition speaker, rushing votes, ruling opponents out of order. The communists, one member remarked, always had the meetings "so well in hand" in his organization that an "outsider" had no chance of even voicing opposition.

Numerous tricks can be used; for example the diamond formation, seating members in a diamond pattern. This gives the impression, during debate, that Party supporters are more numerous than they actually are.

Another is the false opposition. Selected members make foolish, silly, and stupid objections to communist proposals. The purpose: to make the communists look even better. Communist infighting is vicious and utterly devoid of moral principle.

For several years, thanks to the tactics detailed above, the Communist Party controlled "The 123 Group." Time after time, an organization predominately noncommunist in membership ~~(but~~ X  
~~dominantly anti-communist)~~ was subverted for Party purposes.

Then troubles began to develop for the Reds. Some sympathizers and opportunists grew restive. Noncommunist opposition became more active and vocal.

Party counterattacks were launched. The first problem was to hold the opportunist-president in line. Vanity is a weapon in the early stages. Do everything you can to "blow up" his ego. Raise his salary (the organization pays for it, not the Party). Give him a testimonial dinner. Send him as a delegate to a convention, preferably as far away as possible. The communist vice-president will run affairs until he returns.

But often, as time passes, opportunists and Party sympathizers become "big-headed." They don't do what they are told.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY INSTALMENT SEVENTEEN xx told.

"Jack J. is feeling the effects of power," one Party leader complained. "He's forgetting his old factional allies."

Now stronger measures must be applied. Remind him forcefully that it is communist support which keeps him in office. "Encircle the guy," meaning to make him even more dependent on the Party. Perhaps cut his salary. Starting a minor-key "smear" campaign against him may be effective quickly. Blackmail and threats are often part of communist tactics at this stage.

It took six years of determination for "The 123 group" to eliminate its Red infiltrators' influence. Here were some of the basic points the noncommunist opposition had to keep everlastingly in mind:

Rally the majority noncommunist strength. The communists, usually a minority, capitalize on the lack of interest of non-communists. One communist member was elected to office with only 3 per cent of the total eligible vote.

Remember that communism is always an evil, never a temporary good. Often communists give the impression of working for the best interests of the group. One Party leader said: "Politics don't matter. It's the issues that count." That's wrong. Any conciliation, friendship, or trust placed in communism will sooner or later be exploited against democratic society.

Don't underestimate communist ability. Many communists are extremely intelligent. To think of communists as mere rabble rousers and nuisances is to risk defeat.

Understand communist tactics. Learn how they, though numerically few, are able to exert a maximum influence. Deceit is one of their strongest weapons.

Stand up and be counted. Many noncommunists hesitate to speak up in meetings. They fear to be attacked by an acid-tongued Party spokesman. They may remember Mr. So-and-So. He opposed a communist proposal several weeks ago. Now look at him. He hasn't slept a full night for weeks. Somebody is constantly calling him on the telephone. His relatives are pestered. It's best, they think, just to stay away from meetings or, if there, remain silent. Others, irritated, bored, or simply "fed up" with communist tactics, walk out. Just what the communists want. Speak your mind. Stand your ground. Don't be afraid to defend American liberty.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY: INSTALMENT SEVENTEEN xx liberty.

Wage the fight in a democratic manner. Emotion should never replace reason as a weapon. To pursue extralegal methods is simply to injure your cause. Fight hard, but fight according to the rules.

When communists speak of their desire to advance the cause of labor, the question should always be asked: What is their objective?

In August, 1957, streetcar and bus workers went on strike in Lodz, Poland, to protest against the unfulfilled promises of the Polish Communist government. The strike was soon brought to a halt through the use of some 3000 ~~Soviet~~ troops with fixed bayonets. X

While the communists were demonstrating their brutality and terroristic tactics against labor in Poland, communists in the U.S. were giving another demonstration of how they habitually ignore the truth. William Z. Foster, as the elder statesman of the Communist Party in the United States, was saying: "One of the most striking phenomena of the capitalist world in recent years has been the enormous extension of the workers' fight for democracy--among other phases, to defend their right to organize and strike...World Socialism has enormously stimulated this struggle." X

The answer is a simple one. The communists, once in control, crush every opponent. In gaining power, they promise anything and everything to soften the opposition. This opposition will be "softened," however, only if we allow infiltration to take place before our very eyes without knowing it for what it is.

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In the next instalment Mr. Hoover reveals more case histories of how communist "fronts" are born and how they operate to advance the Party line in their country. Be sure to read this hard-hitting account of how these seemingly innocent organizations influence thousands of noncommunists, collect large sums of money and recruit members into the Party, tomorrow in (name of newspaper).

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How  
to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

In the October Revolution in 1917 through which  
fewer than 100,000 Bolsheviki gained supreme power over <sup>some</sup>  
~~300,000,000~~ <sup>150</sup> Russians, the Bolshevik slogan was, "Bread  
for the workers, land for the peasants, and peace for all!"  
The offer of "peace" naturally appealed particularly to the  
soldiers who had been dragooned into the czarist army at  
the front: they threw down their rifles and "voted for  
peace with their legs," as one historian phrased it. The  
Bolsheviks learned then that "peace" has a powerful appeal,  
and they have never forgotten it. They have professed "peace"  
while carrying on aggression against a large part of the  
world.

*Per Justice Manual  
5/14/58*

The Bolsheviks, now best known as Communists, also  
learned by experience the deceptive appeal of other catch-  
phrases. They have used them to advantage in slogans and  
the names of "front" organizations, as J. Edgar Hoover has  
pointed out in previous instalments of this first serializa-  
tion of "Masters of Deceit," his revealing best seller. He  
has named "American Peace Mobilization," "Civil Rights  
Congress," "Emergency Civil Liberties Committee," "Peoples  
Rights Party," "The Jefferson School of Social Science,"  
"American Youth Congress," "National Negro Congress,"  
"American League Against War and Fascism," "American Youth  
Congress" as examples of organizations created, backed or  
captured by communists.

In today's instalment, he details the workings of  
some of these front organizations, which extend communist

(MORE)

INSTALMENT EIGHTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER XX communist

influence into schools, churches, unions and other groups throughout the country; and indicates how to fight this influence.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT EIGHTEEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The auditorium was packed. More than 1000 delegates and observers waved their arms enthusiastically, along with some 200 others who did not fill out registration forms to avoid leaving a record of their attendance. (A Communist Party organ said they were in "...fear of intimidation.")

This was the founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council, a new organization dedicated to "equality," "social progress," and the upholding of "civil rights." Speeches, resolutions, election of officers, everything ran smoothly. Two days later came adjournment. A new communist front had been born.

Delegates had come from all over the United States. They would now return to their home cities, start local chapters, enroll members, issue literature.

A master organizing hand was at work. One thousand individuals just didn't arrive by accident.

The convention call was communist-inspired. For weeks in advance, local Party members had been arranging housing, running errands, securing finances.

The Council claimed that its purpose was to aid the Negro; however, the House Committee on Un-American Activities concluded that, "rather than helping the Negro worker, it has been a deterrent to him."

The founding of the National Negro Labor Council was typical of many Party fronts created in the U.S., while similar organizations were being formed and fostered by communists in other noncommunist countries.

Fronts probably represent the Party's most successful tactic in capturing noncommunist support. Like mass agitation and infiltration, fronts espouse the deceptive Party line (hence the term "front") while actually advancing the real Party line,

(MORE)

In this way the Party's small, dedicated membership is able to influence thousands of noncommunists, collect large sums of money, and reach the minds, pens, and tongues of many high-ranking and distinguished individuals. Moreover, fronts are excellent fields for Party recruitment.

A front is an organization which the communists openly or secretly control. The communists realize that they are not ~~generally~~ ~~not~~ welcome in free society. Party influence, therefore, is transmitted, time after time, by a belt of concealed members, sympathizers, and dupes. Fronts become transmission belts between the Party and the noncommunist world.

Some may be specially created by the Party or, as often happens, they may be old-line organizations ~~made a target~~ <sup>infiltrated</sup> through the methods described in the preceding chapter. They may operate internationally, nationally, regionally, or locally.

The Party has fostered hundreds of major fronts in practically every field of Party agitation: "peace," civil rights, protection of the foreign-born, support for Smith Act "victims," for abolition of H-bomb tests, exploitation of nationality and minority groups. Some are based on specific appeal to professions or groups, such as teachers, writers, lawyers, labor, farmers, women, youth.

Many have national officers, local chapters, and substantial assets. Others serve a specific short-time purpose, then disappear. A few handbills, a rally, or a picket line, and a front has gone to work or succeeded another which had become identified too obviously with communism to serve the Party well.

We must not think of most communist fronts in terms of legitimate organizations. A few fronts collect dues, issue a newspaper, or sponsor organized activities, such as a sports program or cultural affairs. Most, however, exist only on paper. Their assets usually consist of a few office supplies, a secondhand Mimeograph machine, and a mailing list. The danger of a Party front rests not on its physical appearance or size but on its ability to deceive.

"Front schools," where Marxist and related subjects were available for noncommunist students, have been most important to the communists over the years. In one such school it is estimated that over 100,000

(MORE)

individuals received instruction and training; in another, 75,000.

Every front, in its own way, is fighting the Party's battles. During one period when most Party headquarters were closed because of a tactical shift to underground operations, fronts performed many functions for the Party.

A single front can generate terrific communist pressure. Take for example, this case which came to FBI attention:

Time: shortly after lunch. Agnes G---, executive secretary of the "DEF Committee to Fight the High Cost of Living," is reading a letter.

Dan H--- enters the office. "It's happened. The legislature just passed the Anticommunist Bill."

They know what counter-measures to undertake immediately.

As a first step Agnes dictates a letter to Professor Frank Y---, a "good friend" at the ~~state~~ university. "Issue a statement right away. This bill threatens freedom of speech. It must be vetoed." X

Similar letters are sent to other teachers, clergymen, several lawyers. Contact is made with key Party members and sympathizers. "The Anticommunist Bill has passed. Send telegrams to the governor, urging a veto. Start a petition circulating."

Next, a bold step: Agnes places a telephone call to the governor. "Mr. Governor, I'm speaking for the DEF Committee to Fight the High Cost of Living. We are disturbed about the passage of the Anticommunist Bill. We feel you should veto it. Would it be possible to have our representatives meet with you?"

The governor wants to hear all points of view. The DEF Committee sounds impressive. An appointment is made.

Pressure was being built up. The front could bring pressure where the Party never could. Three ministers, an attorney, and a newspaperman were contacted. Would they see the governor as part of the delegation?

"I want Larry R---- to go along," Agnes says. "He's not too bright a guy, but he's easy and willing. I can tell him what to say. Besides, he's from a very respectable organization."

(MORE)



INSTALMENT EIGHTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx organization."

Every step was planned to "Be sure the right people do the talking." About one fellow the Party organizer had commented, "Better have him stay quiet."

Not everything went according to plan. One minister refused to go. Agnes became angry. "It takes this kind of work," she fumed, "to see what ministers are made of - dishwater."

To communists you are a wonderful guy, if you cooperate; if not, you're a "bum."

The delegation was dispatched to the Governor's office, a delegation made up chiefly of noncommunists, yet advocating communist aims; a delegation organized exclusively by a communist front. The DEF Committee was not interested in opposing the high cost of living. It was fighting for communism.

Fronts exist not in isolation but as part of a vast, interlaced front system. Communist pressure obviously can be greatly increased by manipulating these organizations in concert.

Take, for example, roof, or compound, fronts. Here a number of fronts, as in the nationality field, will form a super, over-all front such as the old American League Against War and Fascism, which at its peak claimed 7,500,000 members. Often the propaganda value is to show unity: all the organizations the League is supposed to embody, representing many different nationalities, appear to be working together for common aims.

Or consider the National Negro Labor Council, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. This also was a roof, or compound, front created by <sup>already</sup> ~~amalgamation~~ of existing fronts. Let's see how this ~~amalgamation~~ process works.

First, ~~it is proposed that~~ "delegates" <sup>AUST</sup> be "elected" to a "national founding convention." Immediately, communist fronts across the nation "elect delegates," and in infiltrated organizations, hidden communists see that those organizations choose delegates who can be controlled, ~~or prevented from being spoilers.~~

At the convention all arrangements are manipulated by Party leaders, including the selection of officers, the issuing of press releases, the passing of resolutions. This includes the actual running of the convention to ensure security.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT EIGHTEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx security.

One newspaper reporter who went to the NNLC convention had once been a Party member. He had been expelled. On the first day of the convention one of the officials invited him outside and ordered him not to come back into the convention hall. X

Hailed as representing "thousands of members," the new organization was a front created out of fronts.

Another communist technique of manipulation is to change the name of a front to meet current conditions. The American Peace Mobilization was formed in 1940, to agitate for "peace" and "no aid (by the U.S.) to Britain." After Germany's invasion of Russia in 1941, the name was changed to American People's Mobilization, and its demands changed to all-out aid to Britain and a second front (to aid Russia).

On October 16, 1943, the Young Communist League was dissolved and the next day the American Youth for Democracy was formed in its place. Later the group was called Labor Youth League. Other fronts have undergone similar repeated changes in name without any change of purpose; which is to serve as an arm of attack of the Communist Party <sup>AGAINST</sup> ~~upon~~ the noncommunists. X

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In the next instalment Mr. Hoover details the inner workings of other communist front organizations. He describes further how these fronts, run by a hard core of communists, use every possible means - trickery, "come ons" and worse - to further the Party's aims. Don't miss this eye-opening account of how these master plotters are working ceaselessly to overthrow our government, in tomorrow's (name of paper).

# # #

(F/S)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

Good

(PRECEDE)

May 1 is a traditional day for international radical demonstrations. Files of newspapers in the United States contain many factual stories and photographs of demonstrations staged by the Communist Party and its satellite groups on May Day. In earlier years of the Party, its aim was stated openly on placards and banners carried in the May Day parades: the destruction of the American Republic and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship. The Party works in more subtle fashion today, in accordance with altered tactics it knows from experience in other Red conquests to be more effective in luring noncommunists into supporting or not opposing its aim.

Today, in the continuance of this first serialization of his revealing best seller book, "Masters of Deceit," J. Edgar Hoover explains the workings of a network of communist apparatus in bringing pressure on noncommunists and legislators in the United States.

(end precede)

INSTALMENT NINETEEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The "fronts" they have organized ~~organized~~ give communists a ready and quick means of staging demonstrations against any investigation or legislation they oppose. The results of their efforts can be detected repeatedly in national and state capitals.

An anticommunist bill is passed by a state legislature. The Party, having been unable to block it there, resorts to another tactic. Suddenly the governor of the state is bombarded with

(MORE)

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INSTALMENT NINETEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx with

telegram, letters, and petitions in the names of groups identified as women's clubs and veterans', labor, youth, teacher, civil rights, farm and other organizations. To an uncritical eye it would seem that a wide stratum of population was demanding that the governor veto the anticommunist bill. But an analysis of the "protests" would show the heavy hand of communist manipulators of "fronts."

Many noncommunists may oppose the legislation for a variety of reasons and express their opinions by letter, telegram, and petition. That, very emphatically, does not make them communists. They are only exercising their democratic privileges. But it should be understood, too, that the Communist Party, through its "front" system, can stimulate a vast and often effective propaganda barrage of "public opinion."

As indicated in previous chapters, communist "fronts" are bewildering in their variety; agitating on countless issues; based on different groups and occupations; and working in many ways. But actually their technique of formation is virtually identical.

At the center is always the Party, organizing, manipulating, seeing that the right persons are in charge. Noncommunists might well ponder this comment by a Party organizer: "Experience has shown that most sponsors are unwilling to give of themselves sufficiently to stop the secretary from directing policy."

So true! The communists realize that if the secretary (or other key officer) is a communist (almost always a concealed member), the Party can dominate the organization.

Let the letterhead glitter with noncommunist names: president, vice president, members of the executive board. They serve as lightning rods, camouflaging the communist interest. To the sponsors, the prestige; to the communists, the power.

Great emphasis is given by the Red "front" tacticians to attracting noncommunists, the more prominent the better. These noncommunists, by allowing their names to be used as sponsors, giving testimonials, or appearing at front rallies, aid the Party. It cannot be emphasized too often how the communists attempt to exploit for strictly partisan purposes the legitimate interests of noncommunists in social and economic problems, world peace, civil rights, and so forth.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT NINETEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx forth.

Most important to the effective working of communist "fronts" are mailing lists containing the names of persons to whom literature can be sent. Perhaps you have received such propaganda in the mail and wondered whence it came. Party-front mailing lists are compiled in many ways--from telephone books, directories, membership rolls of infiltrated organizations ("loaned" by concealed members).

Party fronts are aggressive. "Don't wait for the noncommunist" the organizer tells his comrades. No, seek him out. "We must go into the neighborhoods more and into the home." Through rallies, parades, picket lines, forums, debates, circulation of literature, "fronts" are constantly seeking public support. They operate on the main streets of America.

Another thing dinned into the comrade: The agitation is always practical. Talk about peace, jobs, and the price of milk, not Marx's ideas of revolution. Link the struggle with "the fight for pork chops."

"Peace is an everyday issue and...should involve the housewife, the woman who has to wrestle with budgets in the hopeless struggle with taxes, high prices and a shrinking pay check," the communist is taught.

In one instance, a cookbook was issued by a "front," a "dollar stretcher" containing low-priced menus. The point the book strove to make was this: These recipes will help, somewhat. But, Mrs. Housewife, you can never hope for a stable economy (where prices are always low) until "peace" (Soviet style) is achieved.

Such trick "come-ons" are common. Consider communist-sponsored "forums," for instance. Here are some Party-suggested topics for such forums:

- Are American marriages a failure?
- How to find an apartment.
- Should the voting age be reduced to eighteen years?
- Future of youth, what is it?
- Can heart disease be cured?
- Can <sup>(c)</sup>Cancer be cured or prevented?
- How to become a cultured person.

(MORE)



INSTALMENT NINETEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx person.

What have these <sup>3</sup>to do with communism? Nothing. But they bring listeners within talking distance. If one thing won't work, maybe another will.

Communist Parties around the world collaborate in setting up and using "fronts." An example is the Women's International Democratic Federation, which <sup>GREW OUT OF A CONFERENCE</sup> ~~was formed~~ in Paris. Long before the Paris gathering the Communist Party, USA, went to work promoting the attendance of delegations of American women. One hundred telegrams were sent out from Communist Party headquarters in New York City to ~~1~~ readers of various women's organizations, announcing that they had been chosen as delegates and inviting them to attend a meeting at the home of the chairman of the U.S. committee. A temporary "Committee on Cooperation with the International Women's Conference" was organized ~~on that occasion~~ to push arrangements. An expediter was appointed to get passports and a special rate of \$495 for a round trip by plane was secured. And so a number of U.S. women attended the WIDF Organization in Paris, many without the slightest idea that the affair had been promoted by the Communist Party.

Out of the Women's International Democratic Federation grew its American affiliate, the Congress of American Women. Shortly after the Congress had its first meeting, the National Committee of the Communist Party met in New York City. At this meeting one of its members discussed how important the Women's International Democratic Federation was to the Communist Party. This high Party official then stated that the Party did not then control the newly created Congress of American Women, and that the communists needed to "infiltrate it more." The Congress has since been designated as a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Here is another example of how international "fronts" function for the Communist Party:

An envelope postmarked at Prague, Czechoslovakia, was sent to an American college. Inside was a printed letter signed by the Prorector and Secretary of Charles University, Prague, formerly renowned as a great European educational institution, now a communist propaganda front. The letter began: "We send you the Proclamation of the Charles University against the use (by the United States) of

(MORE)

INSTALMENT NINETEEN - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx of

the bacteriological warfare in Korea and urge you to express your views on the named Proclamation."

Enclosed was the "PROCLAMATION of the Academic Community of the Charles University...."

Note the propaganda techniques employed in the "proclamation":

1. The appeal prostitutes the reputation of a well-known university for propaganda purposes: "We, professors, lecturers and the other scientific workers of the Charles University in Prague, one of the oldest universities of the world...."

2. The appeal allegedly is based on humanitarian and scientific grounds: "With full responsibility to our human and scientific consciences we have considered the danger which threatens all of humanity through the crimes that are being committed by the American imperialist army."

3. The appeal is directed to scientific teachers in universities. The idea is that an appeal from a member of one profession or occupation to another is more effective than random appeals. This device is often used, with Russian writers, artists, musicians addressing their "counterparts" in America: "We address ourselves to you, scientific workers of universities of all countries...."

4. The weight of scholarly backing is designed to influence ⊗  
~~laymen.~~ OPINION It is stated: "These facts prove that the armies of the ⊗  
 American interventionists have repeatedly used bacteriological ⊗  
 weapons. ~~xx~~ From the American airplanes bombs were dropped containing ⊗  
 different kind~~x~~ of insects, rats etc. which were infected with ⊗  
 plague, cholera and other epidemic diseases, and infected foodstuffs  
 as well. ~~xx~~ we are ashamed to think of those American members of  
 medical science who have committed themselves to the preparation  
 of these repulsive crimes."

5. Action is recommended: "We urge you to refuse to place your scientific knowledge at the service of mass extermination of mankind...Protest not only in your activity as teachers and in your work in the scientific press, but with your governments as well!"

The proclamation is designed to make a lie believable, to paint the United States as a murderer and the Soviet Union as a protector of peace.

(MORE)

Communist propoganda is live ammunition designed to capture, maim, and kill. To regard communist fronts and their propoganda as foolishness is to risk our freedom.

A favorite field for communist fronts is the election campaign for public office. Running communist candidates for city council, mayor, governor, even for the Presidency of the United States, is a well established practice. Never has the Party, running under its own name, been able to secure many votes. The Party candidates who ran five times (1924 through 1940) for the Presidency of the United States achieved their highest percentage of the total vote cast in 1932--a mere 0.3 per cent, or 102,991 out of almost 40,000,000 votes cast. In instances where the Party has maneuvered political alliances, it has achieved more success, as shown by the election of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and Peter Cacchione, both well-known communists, to the City Council of New York City in the 1940's. But the real purpose ~~in all cases~~ <sup>is</sup> was to give the ~~candidate~~ <sup>Communist</sup> training in mass agitation and enable the Party to smear rivals, scream its propoganda, and cause unrest.

Concealed members of the Communist Party frequently run ~~in~~ <sup>UNDER</sup> other colors. Board-of-education campaigns ~~and membership~~ are well suited to communist exploitation. In such campaigns the Party sees to it that its candidates are invited to parent-teacher meetings, community centers, public forums, to participate in radio debates (when the time is donated), and to speak in the homes of private citizens. Also behind the scenes, the Party works overtime stuffing propoganda into envelopes, passing out cards, drumming up enthusiasm.

The results are often amazing. William Z. Foster in one of his books boasts that in Cleveland, Ohio, "A. Krchmarek, Communist candidate for the school board, received 64,213 votes," while in California, "the well-known Communist, Bernadette Doyle, polled the big total of 613,670 votes on a ~~nonpartisan~~ <sup>2</sup> ticket as candidate for Superintendent of Public Schools." Krchmarek and Doyle both ran on independent, nonpartisan tickets and were not identified on the ballot as communists.

The communist-front's strength as an arm of the Party rests on deceit and its ability to attract the support of noncommunists.

(MORE)



"Fronts," can be detected. You, as an alert citizen, can do much to weaken their influence. Here are a few tests to give any organization you are asked to join or support:

Does its stand on any public question shift when the Party line shifts?

Does the organization feature as speakers at its meetings known communists or sympathizers?

Is the organization used as a sounding board by, or is it endorsed by, communist-controlled labor unions?

Does its literature follow the communist line or is it printed by the communist press?

Does the organization receive favorable mention regularly in communist publications?

Does the organization represent itself to be nonpartisan, yet engage in political activities and consistently advocate causes favored by the communists?

Does the organization denounce American foreign policy while always lauding Soviet policy?

Does it denounce fascists and not denounce communists?

Do the organization's spokesmen refer to Soviet-dominated countries as democracies while complaining that the United States is imperialistic, and constantly denouncing monopoly-capital?

Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced affiliation with the organization?

Does the organization, if espousing liberal, progressive causes, attract well-known, honest, patriotic liberals, or does it denounce well-known liberals?

Does the organization consistently consider matters not directly related to its avowed purposes and objectives?

"Fronts" are means through which the Communist Party works above ground against the peace and security of the country. They are only one arm of a gigantic pincer. The other is underground,

Reprinted from the book, <sup># # #</sup> "Masters of Deceit," by J. Edgar Hoover, published by Henry Holt & Co., Inc. Copyright (C) 1958, J. Edgar Hoover. All rights reserved. Distributed by King Features Syndicate

In the next instalment, Mr. Hoover throws the spotlight on the Communist Party's true position regarding minority groups in the population. Be sure to read his vivid description of how the Negro, in communist eyes, is a mere pawn, to be manipulated for the attainment of Party objectives, in tomorrow's (name of paper)

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(NO. 20)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How  
to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

"A tragedy of the past generation in the United States is that so many persons, including high-ranking public officials, educators, ministers of the gospel, and members of other professions, have been duped into helping communism," J. Edgar Hoover comments in his best seller book, "Masters of Deceit." "Communists have proclaimed that communism must be partly built with noncommunist hands, and this, to a large extent, is true."

One effective way the Communist Party has been able to dupe many noncommunists into helping communists has been to give a dire meaning to the term "minority" and to claim to be the protector of members of any "minority." In today's instalment of this first serialization of "Masters of Deceit," Mr. Hoover describes how the Communist Party endeavors to exploit one racial group, Negroes, for the benefit of Soviet Russia.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

From its inception the Communist Party has sought to assume the role of special protector and champion of various racial and ~~and~~ <sup>NATIONALITY</sup> groups in the U.S. For example, it seeks to identify itself strongly with Negroes. Actually the vast majority of Negroes and members of other so-called minority groups have understood and rejected communism for what it is: a heartless, totalitarian way of life which completely disregards the dignity of man.

(MORE)

*see memo from [unclear] 3/13/58*

*Good*

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY xx man.

In the case of the Negroes the Comintern began in 1928 to lay down a specific Party line for the guidance of comrades in the United States. According to Comintern instructions, Negroes were to be considered as an "oppressed race." The Party was told to carry on a struggle "for equal rights," but "in the South...the main Communist slogan <sup>MUST</sup> ~~was to~~ be: The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt." X

Communist leaders, faithfully following Moscow's instructions, promptly started a campaign of agitation. In nominating James W. Ford, a Negro, to run for Vice President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket in 1932, with Presidential candidate William Z. Foster, C. A. Hathaway, then a member of the Party's Election Campaign National Committee, reiterated instructions received in a 1930 Comintern resolution:

"In the first place, our demand is that the land of the Southern white landlords . . . be confiscated and turned over to the Negroes....

"Secondly, we propose to break up the present artificial state boundaries . . . and to establish the state unity of the territory known as the 'Black Belt,' where the Negroes constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

"Thirdly, in this territory, we demand that the Negroes be given the complete right of self-determination; the right to set up their own government in this territory and the right to separate, ~~if they wish~~, from the United States." X

In 1948, communist agitators and propagandists described "the Black Belt" or proposed "Negro Republic" as extending through twelve Southern states: " \*Heading down from its eastern point in Virginia's tidewater section, it cuts a strip through North Carolina, embraces nearly all of South Carolina, cuts into Florida, passes through lower and central Georgia and Alabama, engulfs Mississippi and the Louisiana Delta, wedges into eastern Texas and southwest Tennessee, and has its western anchor in southern Arkansas. " X

By 1952 the communist concept of "the Black Belt" had been narrowed to "at least five Southeastern states, with port outlets at Charleston on the Atlantic and Mobile on the Gulf, encompassing

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY xx encompassing the bulk of Mississippi, and a good section of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama."

As the FBI knows from cumulative evidence, the Communist Party's position toward Negroes is determined not by concern for their welfare but obedience to Soviet foreign policy.

As the need for undivided United States participation in World War II became evident, the Party switched its tactics. Instead of calling for the immediate and revolutionary overthrow of white landlords in "the Black Belt," as the Comintern had originally instructed, the Party now switched its demands to a purely theoretical and propaganda level:

"...It is clear that the Negro masses are not yet ready to carry through the revolution which would make possible the right to self-determination." Why the shift? To satisfy the Party's united-front program, which demanded that the Party work harmoniously with other groups to strengthen the support of the Soviet Union.

Yet, the World War II period found the Communist Party, USA, cynically abandoning any alleged struggle for Negro rights. The aim was to help not Negroes but Moscow.

"When we fought for the right of Negro workers to enter industries we often fought for such jobs mainly in the interest of the war effort." Earl Browder in 1945 admitted that as early as 1942 the Party had adopted the theory that "...the struggle for Negro rights must be postponed until after the war...." The Negro, in communist eyes, was a mere pawn, to be manipulated for the attainment of Party aims.

All the evidence is that only a few Negroes were fooled by the Party. Among other things, Negroes resented the Party's severe criticism of Negro clergymen who had been vigorously denouncing communism. Earlier the Party had been unable to justify adequately Russia's aid to Italy in its invasion of Ethiopia.

In early 1956 the Party decided to modify its advocacy of "self-determination," having evidently realized that Negro opposition to communism was growing. In making this change, communists said they would still consider the Negroes as constituting a national as well as a racial minority.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY xx minority.

Plainly, the Party's claim that it is working for Negro rights is a deception and a fraud. It is apparent that most Negroes realize the Party's design is to hoodwink the Negro, to exploit him, and use him as a tool to ~~create interracial strife and exploit it~~ to build a communist America. X

Naturally, the Party has made vigorous efforts to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In Philadelphia, the Party secured NAACP applications and instructed Party members to join. In Louisiana, the Party's District Organizer instructed all Negro Communist Party members to join the NAACP and urge the creation of a youth organization, and to form committees to encourage Negroes to register to vote. In Gary, Ind., a Party member, also an NAACP member, promoted the signing of petitions to pass a city ordinance, ~~favored by the NAACP.~~ X  
In Cincinnati, a Party organizer instructed that Party members call the NAACP and urge the holding of a city-wide mass meeting. He ordered that in calling, they should claim to be members of the NAACP.

The NAACP's national leadership has vigorously denounced communist attempts at infiltration. In 1950 the board of directors was authorized to revoke the charter of any NAACP chapter found to be communist controlled. In 1956, when the NAACP and other organizations sponsored a National Conference on Civil Rights in Washington, the Party attempted to "move in," and started promoting the conference. The NAACP countered by screening the delegates.

Similarly, in 1957, during the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, the Party again attempted to move in and exploit the pilgrimage. NAACP leaders publicly told the communists that they were not welcome, and steps were taken to keep them off the platform. One outstanding Negro leader even tried to cancel the pilgrimage to prevent communists from propagandizing the event.

Concerning the Negro Paul Robeson, who has long fronted for the communists, a responsible NAACP leader stated: "...the boat is waiting to take him to Russia...." He added that he would raise the necessary funds to defray Robeson's expenses in moving to Russia to stay.

(MORE)

Richard Wright, the internationally known Negro novelist, tells in the book, The God That Failed, why he rebelled against communist thought control. In describing how at the time he left the party he was assaulted on a Chicago street, he wrote, "I could not quite believe what had happened, even though my hands were smarting and bleeding. I had suffered a public, physical assault by two white Communists with black Communists looking on."

The Communist Party, while preaching "equality," differentiates between races. For example, in the 1957 convention of the Party, an accurate record of the delegates was kept. The breakdown was as follows: 209 males, 78 females; 54 Negroes, two Mexicans, and one Puerto Rican. The hypocrisy of the Party was clearly shown when it required each delegate to register his race, although for years the Party publicly has campaigned to have the blank for "race" removed from all questionnaires of the U.S. Government, States and private enterprises.

~~A Negro in the Midwest became interested in the Party because it claimed that Negroes were treated as equals. Later he was unjustly accused of consorting with a white non-Party member. He quit.~~ X

Communist leaders have been complaining bitterly about the turn-over of Negro members and of the Party's inability to indoctrinate any large number of Negroes. Wisely, Negroes are rejecting communism.

As early as 1922 the Comintern approved a subsidy of \$300,000 for propaganda among American Negroes. In 1925 the Soviets requested that a group of Negroes be selected to come to Russia for training. A dozen were recruited. One of these, returning to the United States from ~~Russia~~ <sup>Russia</sup> three years later, brought with him a draft for \$75,000 to help pay for propaganda work among his race. X

One Negro, designated to attend the Lenin School, maintained by the Soviet Government, said,

"I found that Negroes were special objects of political exploitation. The sacrifices and dirty work planned for the American Negro Communists as spearheads for communizing the United States made it obvious that we were considered only as pawns in a game where others would get the prize."

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY -- INSTALMENT TWENTY xx prize."

Becoming more outspoken and cynical about the communist program for Negroes, he became the target of a slander campaign inside the Lenin School. Finally this young American Negro was charged and tried before a court-martial. He was found guilty of "disaffection."

Back in the U.S., he quit the Party, because he could no longer give aid to the communists "concentrating on their most helpless, and whom they think to be, their most gullible victims: the Negro."

The communists have created numerous fronts over the years in attempts to attract and influence Negroes. The American Negro Labor Congress was instituted in 1925. Its name was <sup>LATER</sup> changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. The National Negro Congress, launched in Washington, D.C., in 1935, was not communist to begin with. But by 1940 communists had infiltrated the organization to such an extent that when its president, A. Philip Randolph, "warned the Congress to stick to its principle and remain nonpartisan..." the communists staged a demonstration and walked out, leaving only a third of the audience to finish hearing Randolph. Significantly, this 1940 convention of the National Negro Congress passed a resolution condemning the war as "imperialist." The National Negro Congress merged in 1947 with the Civil Rights Congress, an out-and-out communist front.

The old International Labor Defense (ILD) also tried to influence the American Negro, and came into conflict with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a result of the ILD's communist tactics in converting the Scottsboro (Alabama) Case into a vehicle for communist propaganda.

In similar fashion, the Communist Party has long considered foreign-language groups in the United States fertile fields for infiltration. Since many of the early comrades were foreign-born, agitation among national groups became a natural outlet for Party activity. In recent years the Nationality Groups Commission of the Party has coordinated agitation in this field. But most members of minority groups, like other patriotic organizations, have realized that no communist-created Utopia can compete with the American way of life.

The ability of the communists to propagate their false doctrines is a challenge to our educational process. We need to counter communism by making the hopes and aspirations of the American ideal a reality for all to enjoy.

# # #

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY      xx      enjoy.

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In the next instalment, Mr. Hoover discusses one of the most malicious myths that has developed in the United States--that persons of the Jewish faith and communists have something in common. Read it in tomorrow's (name of paper).

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S/F



FROM KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, 235 EAST 45TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

Good

(PRECEDE)

The Communist Party has endeavored to identify itself with Jews in the United States for a double purpose, it is explained by J. Edgar Hoover in his revealing best seller, "Masters of Deceit". First, communists want to appear to be the advocates and defenders of the rights of so-called minorities in the country and thereby dupe noncommunists into believing that communism stands for democracy, civil rights and non-discrimination. At the same time, insidiously, it endeavors to make agitation about Jews, Negroes or other religious or racial groups a means of "dividing and conquering". Its real purpose is to weaken the fabric of American tolerance and <sup>unity</sup> ~~which~~ to make it easier for the United States to be conquered and a Soviet dictatorship set up..

X

In today's instalment of this first serialization of his book, Mr. Hoover gives the lie to the communist-fostered myth that there is an affinity between communism and persons of Jewish faith.

2 cc memo  
for Mr. Hoover  
3/12/58

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-ONE

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Communist propaganda machine with its tactics of infiltration and division has long fostered the false claim of widespread influence in the Jewish communities of the United States.

(MORE)

7

One of the most malicious myths that has developed in the United States is that persons of the Jewish faith and communists have something in common. The people who gave the world the concept of our monotheistic God and the Ten Commandments cannot remain Jews and follow the atheism of Karl Marx and the deceit of the communist ~~movement~~ ~~government~~. X

It is a matter of record that numerous Communist Party leaders call themselves Jews and claim a Jewish origin. This does not, however, make them Jews, any more than William Z. Foster's ~~Roman~~ Catholic background and Earl Browder's Protestant background give them any standing in the present-day ~~Roman~~ Catholic and Protestant communities in the United States. X

A highly placed leader in the Communist Party, U.S.A., recently advised Party organizers working in Jewish groups to represent themselves as Jews. This indicates the deception the party practices. X

Typical of communist claims which have fostered the false myth that Jews have an affinity for communism are the remarks of Paul Novick, the editor of the Morning Freiheit, a communist paper published in Yiddish in New York City. Novick said: "The development of Yiddish literature in the United States went hand-in-hand with the growth of the Socialist movement at the beginning of this century and of the Communist Party after the October Revolution."

On the same occasion Novick then went on to brand the followers of Judaism for "degeneration sown among the Jews by reaction" and then condemned their opposition to "the progressive movement, against the Soviet Union and against Communism." Novick's true loyalties were revealed in an article in the Morning Freiheit in December 1956, after the display of Soviet brutality in Hungary. He "explained" that there was an anti-Semitic and fascist element in the Hungarian uprising, and insisted that, "we must not only approve the Soviet actions in Hungary, but really appreciate it!" X

The widely read New York newspaper, Jewish Daily Forward, on February 16, 1957, effectively identified Novick in a story captioned "Editor of Communist 'Freiheit' Is Bitter Enemy of the Jewish People."

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-ONE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx People.

Readers were reminded that after the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939 (which gave Hitler a go-ahead for his invasion of Poland, in which Russia joined) Novick's Freiheit justified and praised the pact. The Forward also pointed out that Novick had asserted ~~in the Freiheit~~ <sup>that</sup> the communist dictators in Czechoslovakia were correct in arresting Rudolph Slansky (and thirteen former communist leaders, eleven of whom were Jews). The Forward said flatly that "anti-Semitic poison just poured out" of Novick.

One man who was in the Party for twenty-five years and held high Communist Party offices, told F.B.I. agents that when he joined the Party he had renounced the existence of God; that he had tried to impose on others his atheistic views, and that he was "not a religious Jew." He flatly said that most of the Party members he knew who claimed to be Jews did not follow their religion; did not attend the synagogue and did not take part in any organized Jewish religious activities.

Some of the most effective opposition to communism in the United States has come from Jewish organizations such as B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish League Against Communism, the Anti-Defamation League, and a host of other Jewish groups.

The reason for communist interest in minorities in the United States is, of course, the opportunities thus provided for exploitation and propaganda. The large number of communist fronts using the word "Jewish," as well as publications that the communists dominate is for the obvious purpose of conveying a false impression of strength among those who embrace the Jewish faith.

In dealing with those of the Jewish faith, the communists invariably do so in terms of discussing "the Jewish question." In reality, by this propaganda technique the communists deliberately foster the false idea that the Jews are a "problem," which is denied by the record of good citizenship and civic responsibility of adherents of Judaism in the United States.

(MORE)

Meanwhile, what of the Jews in Russia? The American Jewish League Against Communism declared in 1948 that "Soviet Russia's million and a half Jews are the forgotten people of the world." The League lists among its proudest achievements that "it was the first American ~~Organization~~ to expose and document the communist anti-Jewish policies," of the Soviet government. X

A true follower of the Jewish faith cannot embrace communism. Marxism-Leninism is irrevocably opposed to all religious beliefs and all forms of worship, whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Moslem. One of Lenin's basic teachings is, "We must combat religion--this is the A.B.C. of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism...The Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of religion..." X (itates)

The communists make no distinction among any of the world's religions, as the leading Soviet crusader against religion, E. Yaroslavsky, makes clear:

"...~~The~~ priests of every cult have their own way of deluding the masses...As to differences between one religion and another, they are of little, if any, consequence." X

Yaroslavsky, who was onetime head of the League of Militant Atheists in the Soviet Union, also said:

"The Jewish synagogues were not granted any privileges whatsoever by the Russian state, but they were fully supported by the Jewish bourgeoisie. The Jewish rabbinate, like its sister priest-crafts, drew close to the side of the rich because the Jewish church had also incorporated in its credo the justification of the existence of exploiting classes in society..." X (itates)

The unrestrained emotional outbursts of Hitler against the Jews were reminiscent of the Marxian tirades against Judaism.

From the days when communism came to power in the Soviet Union, communists have conducted a systematic campaign to cripple and destroy organized Judaism as well as other religious faiths. On January 23, 1918, the Lenin dictatorship issued a sweeping decree "On the Separation of the Church from the State, and of the School from the Church." Under it, all church property was nationalized; churches were denied rights of legal recourse; the teaching of religion was

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-ONE - J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx was

banned in public and private schools; the right of people to attend religious services on workdays was revoked; and the keeping of records of births, marriages, and deaths was taken from the churches and put under the exclusive control of civil authorities.

While religious services were still allowed, the clergy was reduced to the status of second-class citizenship; a campaign of terror was launched leading to the arrest and imprisonment or execution of priests, rabbis, ministers, and other church leaders on such vague charges as "counterrevolutionary activity" or "crimes against the people."

General Walter Bedell Smith reported after his three years as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, that in June, 1948, about thirty churches were open in Moscow, which included one Jewish synagogue for an estimated 300,000 Jews. During World War II General Smith reported, "two religions--the Jewish and the Roman Catholic--did not gain even temporary benefits from the wartime policy of greater religious tolerance; in fact, on balance, it is probably safe to say that attacks upon them have been stepped up rather than relaxed in recent years".

In abolishing the rabbinical schools, the Soviets are seeking the gradual extinction of Judaism without a pogrom. Judaism cannot exist unless Hebrew is taught so that rabbis can study the Torah and Talmud in the original language in which they were written. Thus, when the present generation of Soviet Jews passes on, there will be no more rabbis.

A similar program of suppression of Jewish institutions shifted to the new communist satellite countries after World War II. Jewish schools were abolished, Jewish organizations banned, and even athletic clubs bearing Jewish names were forced to change their names on twenty-four-hour notice.

The propaganda claims of the Soviets when establishing Birobidzhan should be closely analyzed. This so-called Jewish homeland was set up at a time when the threat of Japanese invasion of the U.S.S.R.'s Far Eastern frontier was real. Thus, the "Jewish homeland" was conceived of as a scheme for populating vast spaces in the Far East of Russia, and to provide a convenient place to settle Jews not wanted in other parts of Russia.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-ONE - J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx Russia.

By 1939, after eleven years, the Soviet "Jewish homeland" could claim no more than 30,000 Jews. In 1951 there were around 40,000 in this small community completely separated from the mainstream of Jewish life. It can be guessed that pressures were exerted by the Soviets to get even that small number into Birobidzhan.

The communist propoganda claim that Russia rescued Jews from Nazi extinction also is a deception.

There is <sup>NO</sup> record of any Soviet protest against the Nazi slaughter of Jews during the two years prior to the Nazi invasion of Russia, when Stalin was allied with Hitler. On the contrary, the German Ambassador to Moscow reported to the German Foreign Office, "The Soviet Government is doing everything to change the attitude of the population here toward Germany." The German Foreign Office was informed later: "...the Soviet Government has always previously been able in a masterly fashion to influence the attitude of the population in the direction which it has desired, and it is not being sparing this time either of the necessary propoganda."

Even after the Nazi onslaught on Russia, there was a shocking failure on the part of the Soviets to reveal Nazi atrocities against the Jews. As late as 1945, the Soviets in a report on the German concentration camp at Auschwitz (Oswiecim), did not even use the word "Jew," although Jews constituted the majority of those killed by the Nazis.

That the Soviet attitude against Jews has not changed since Stalin's death is evident. Khrushchev recently reiterated the Party line against the Zionist movement when he was asked what the Soviet Union would do if the Zionists settled in Soviet territory and demanded a state of their own. He replied with communist contempt, "We have thrown them out of our country."

It is significant that Khrushchev made no mention of the mistreatment of the Jews in his exposure of Stalin, whom he had so loyally served over the years.

When Khrushchev turned on the "smiles" and started visiting other countries, he was confronted with accusations of anti-Semitism in Russia. In England, Khrushchev characterized "anti-Semitism" as "nonsense" to which he would not listen. To a French delegation he protested that he was not anti-Semitic and "explained" that the ~~Hebrew~~ Yiddish languages ~~is~~ fading away in Russia because the Jews in the Soviet Union are learning to speak Russian.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-ONE - J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx Russian.

A new low in deception was reached when Khrushchev claimed that, in the early years of the revolution, "Jews occupied a disproportionately large number of high Soviet positions because the country had few trained people." He asserted that the Kremlin had received protests from "the various Soviet Republics that too many Jews held desirable positions." The New York Times story on June 10, 1956, then reported that Khrushchev "...reportedly pressed Lazar M. Kaganovich, only high-ranking Soviet leader of Jewish origin, to confirm his statements, which Mr. Kaganovich finally did, saying one word, correct."

There are no top communist leaders of Jewish origin in the Kremlin since Khrushchev ousted and denounced Kaganovich in 1957.

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In the next instalment Mr. Hoover tells in vivid detail of how the communist underground system works in the United States. Don't miss this frightening and revealing account of undercover couriers, escape routes, hide-outs, and clandestine meetings, in tomorrow's (name of newspaper.)

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\* \* \*

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY

Of Communism in America Today and  
How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

-----  
INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO

(Precede)

*ABOVEGROUND Activities*

The ~~reported "open" membership~~ of the Communist Party, USA, cannot be accepted as a reliable indicator of its actual strength or effectiveness, it is emphasized by J. Edgar Hoover in his revealing best seller book, "Masters of Deceit," in which he declares that communism remains today the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States.

Supplementing the aboveground, is the Party's underground organization which contains ~~many~~ trusted and experienced comrades who are willing to carry out the most secret Party assignments, regardless of their nature.

From the early days of the Party in the United States it has had both aboveground and underground apparatuses.

Experience in Russia and other countries conquered by the Soviets taught the communists that they must always operate on the two levels--aboveground and underground. In times of prosecutive, restrictive action by the national or state governments, the aboveground apparatus retracts, and the underground expands.

The Communist Party has undergone two periods of intensified underground activity, ~~before this~~. During the later of these two previous restrictive periods, mid-1951 to mid-1955, the Party was ~~enabled~~ <sup>forced</sup> to continue ~~much~~ <sup>To A Large extent</sup> of its ~~normal~~ agitational, conspirative activities aboveground by "front" organizations. The existence today of many such fronts has been cited by Mr. Hoover in previous instalments of his book.

(MORE)

*See memo from [unclear] 3/17/58*



In today's instalment, he explains that persons sent underground, in accordance with Party strategy and tactics, naturally cease to be identified with its open aboveground membership and operate as secretly as any espionage corps.

(End precede)

\* \* \*

### INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Aboveground the Communist Party in the U.S., as do communist parties in other countries this side of the Iron Curtain, seeks to represent itself as a legitimate political organization working for the best interests of the nation. When large segments of the population are hoodwinked into believing or accepting this fraudulent claim, it becomes easier for the Party to carry on its revolutionary propaganda through mass agitation, infiltration, and fronts. Without some degree of public acceptance, the Party is doomed to an isolated impotence.

Communist tactics require that the Party's activities be pushed as far as possible aboveground. Where and when the government takes steps to protect itself from outright treason and subversion, more and more Party activities are shifted underground, that is, to the illegal apparatus. The Party is always prepared to do this, for Lenin taught that communism must always have two levels, aboveground and underground. Both must exist at the same time. One without the other is incomplete.

In times of "nonprosecution"--that is, when "hostile" governments are not attacking--the Party, like a submarine, will surface, carrying on the bulk of its work aboveground. But a portion (the underground) will always stay submerged, concealing the Party's illegal activities, such as aid to Soviet espionage; endeavoring to place concealed members in sensitive positions in government, education, and industry; maintaining clandestine communication networks.

In event of an emergency, this undercarriage quickly expands, providing the Party with well-prepared and extensive undercover operators. Within days, hundreds of aboveground comrades can be fitted into the underground operations.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO xx operations.

As the Party always prefers surface operations (with a supporting underground), it fights desperately all legislation curtailing its activities. Only to prevent annihilation will it go completely underground, <sup>this</sup> for/action reduces contact with the masses, wastes energy on nonproductive security measures, and decreases effectiveness.

The Communist Party, USA, has experienced two periods of intensified underground activities: (1) shortly after its founding, ~~that is, 1919-21~~, and (2) in the mid-1951 to mid-1955 period. Both were caused primarily by prosecutive actions of state and federal governments. X

The communist underground is a maze of undercover couriers, escape routes, hide-outs, and clandestine meetings. It's not the place for the beginner, the half-indoctrinated, or the doubtful, but for the experienced, drilled, dedicated communist. These men and women must carry on the Party's deceitful work away from the watchful eye (so they hope) of the FBI and other protective agencies.

The following describes two instances of the communist underground functioning, as observed by the FBI:

It was early in the morning. The taxi had been summoned to a corner on James Street. The driver found his passenger to be an attractive woman, dressed in a polka-dotted blouse and navy blue skirt. From her shoulder dangled a brown purse.

"Take me to Elm and Cherry Streets," she said.

When the taxi arrived there, the woman acted as if she had changed her mind. "Take me to the Surplus Store," she instructed. The driver complied, now almost doubling back to where he had started. The woman, however, still wasn't satisfied. She "changed her mind" again and asked to be taken to another location. There she alighted.

A few minutes later she hailed another cab and went straight to her destination, a railroad station on the east side of town. She had started out in this devious route only a short distance from a terminal where she could have caught the same train.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO xx train.

This wasn't a flighty woman who changed her mind, but the shift of a Party underground leader to a new hide-out. Why the strange gyrations? She was endeavoring to make certain she wasn't being followed.

At the same time, in another city and state, a woman with black curly hair, dressed in a smart gray herringbone suit and wearing a large-brimmed hat, boarded a southbound train. She carefully surveyed the passengers, then took a seat near the rear. She was carrying on her left arm a blue tweed suit and a hook-weave black coat. In her right hand she held a brown suitcase with light tan trimmings. Her train journey was a long ride, all afternoon and night. At the end of it, she sped ~~in a taxi~~ to an address in an older section of town. A knock, a door opened, and she disappeared inside. The woman was a high-ranking Party leader reporting for a new underground assignment. X

These two women, who looked like ordinary travelers, were but two of many hundreds involved in Party underground work from 1951 to 1955. Many were away from home for months, even years, living under assumed names in obscure rooms; moving under cover of darkness from one city to another; scurrying along streets late at night; eating irregular meals. Life in the underground for most is hard work, drudgery; not romance or adventure such as is depicted in popular fiction.

As indicated in a previous paragraph, only those considered the most loyal, trained members of the Party are chosen for underground work.

An FBI study of the case histories of twenty-five top Party leaders active in the underground during 1951-55 disclosed that all had been in the communist movement for over twenty years. Their average age was somewhat over forty.

In the Party, "loyalty" is judged by an elaborate "verification" system. A prospect for the underground is compelled to execute a questionnaire asking for detailed information about his family, former employment, education, Party history.

One questionnaire obtained by the FBI required the Party member to analyze the "political position" of relatives. It also asked, "Have you had any extra-marital relations since you've been married? If so, with whom and how often?"

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO xx often?"

To enter the underground usually means simply disappearing quickly, abruptly, without notice even to fellow communist club members. If there's a whispered question in the club, "Where's Gordon?" The answer is, "He's gone under" or merely the telltale sign, a clenched fist with the thumb pointed down.

One Monday morning in a certain city all employes in one office came to work except one, a woman who had been with the firm for many years. It was assumed at first she probably was sick. But eventually notice was taken of her absence, for there was no word from her and she had almost a hundred dollars in wages coming to her. She had quickly moved out of her apartment. None of her associates knew where she had gone.

She had entered the communist underground.

Sometimes departures into the underground have been so rapid, in obedience to orders from the Party, that hot meals have been left on the table.

Once underground, the Party member is given a new identity; that is, being made into "another person." As a general rule this involves the securing of a new name, date, and place of birth, even changing physical appearance. One Party functionary was put on a diet to lose between thirty-five and forty pounds, giving him a gaunt appearance. Others were told to gain weight. Still another grew a mustache, donned glasses, and dyed his hair black.

Identification marks of Party underground members, such as moles and warts, have been removed by surgery. One underground official boasted that he could walk down Main Street every day and even his wife could not recognize him!

The member is supplied with fake identification papers, Social Security cards, drivers' licenses, library cards, bank-deposit books to enable him to prove his "identity." He is expected to acquaint himself with the town supposed to have been his birthplace, to know about its newspapers, streets, stores, baseball team.

Frequently the underground member, in his new pose, will attempt to secure employment at least on a temporary basis. His underground work will be conducted in the evenings and on week ends.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO

xx ends.

One underground communist became, in the words of her employer, an "efficient, affable, and able" secretary. He had no inkling she was a communist on an undercover assignment, ~~until her subversive activities were exposed.~~

Party specialists have carefully studied the problems that may confront the underground member in his or her assumed identity and have endeavored to prepare the member for any contingency.

A secret guide issued for the instruction of women underground comrades has this advice:

Suppose you are posing as a widow (after having been married some twenty years) and you have now come to this city "to get away from it all and try to forget." You shouldn't come in (as to a rooming house) empty-handed, with only a handbag. You "must make some show of previous accumulation," for example, have "a few personal 'precious' things," such as "picture(s), little mementoes." You can get the latter "In any 5-10c store."

Suppose you have an inquisitive landlady who has access to your apartment. You might first say (to cover up the scarcity of your personal belongings) that, being so sad over becoming a widow, you "haven't had the heart to unpack everything yet." And by all means have some luggage, preferably "beat-up" luggage. "The more luggage a woman moves in with the better is she accepted on the strength of her story."

What if you're underground in a small town? What about social life? People are sure to become suspicious if you stay seven nights a week at home. Moreover, unlike a man, it doesn't look right to go to a late movie alone. Take a short trip out of town. This not only takes away suspicion but gives you something to talk about.

The woman referred to above as a wearer of a polka-dotted blouse kept an innocent looking diary. It indicated the exacting attention even to the clothes worn on given occasions. Its entries include:

"Wore dark grey dress, high heels, walked to the movie..."

"Wore low heels, two-piece blue suit, red tam..."

"Wore high heels, white blouse and blue hankie. Carried umbrella, looked like rain."

Why the record of her apparel? In meeting noncommunists she doesn't want to be a strawberry blonde one day and the next week a

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO xx a

natural brunette. If she is representing herself as a "poor widow," she should wear the same dress every time instead of appearing to have a variety of outfits.

An ultra-select few of those in the underground are engaged in highly secret disciplinary work. Security is most important among the other underground members, to see if they are adhering strictly to instructions, such as: The telephone and mails are to be avoided. Never carry Party documents or names on your person. The disciplinarians may stop underground members and search their purses or pockets. Woe if a compromising slip of paper is found bearing a name or telephone number! X

The underground functions through couriers who carry messages, bring supplies and funds, contact mail drops. Some couriers are Party officials "just going through," others are Party members, such as salesmen and truck drivers, whose occupations allow them to travel without suspicion; a few are "professional" or specially trained couriers operating on a full-time basis.

Some underground comrades have assignments to stockpile supplies for any emergency. Others, working with aboveground comrades, secure extra drivers' licenses, birth certificates, car titles, etc. for false identifications. The assignments of others require them to operate hide-outs and escape routes or hide Party records. From 1951 to 1955 the underground harbored the Party leaders who were criminal fugitives, those convicted by United States courts who fled.

As a general rule, for security reasons, the leadership of the underground in a given locality is rotated. The Party may feel that a member is going "stale." If so, he may be shifted to another assignment or temporarily "furloughed upstairs" (meaning allowed to reappear in the "open"). A reserve leadership is always ready to step in, in case the functioning leaders are arrested or otherwise incapacitated.

On the Pacific Coast of the United States, a clandestine communist group using the code name of "Mollie" had full responsibility for carrying through not only underground but also many above-ground functions.

(MORE)

For security reasons underground contacts are always downward, not to a higher level. This means that top officials can initiate contacts with comrades in lower levels, but the latter (who seldom even know the identity of their superiors) cannot make approaches above themselves. The reason, of course, is ~~to increase the chances~~ <sup>event of</sup> that in an "enemy breakthrough," the identity of only those on the level "broken through," or lower level, will be revealed. X

Communist "front" organizations often serve as vital pipelines through which necessary funds, supplies, and instructions are funneled to the communist underground. The deeper the Party goes underground, the greater the reliance on fronts.

Generally speaking the underground uses three types of hide-outs: (1) temporary, an abode for a courier or Party member en route to another destination. This will probably be a room in the home of a "politically reliable" individual; (2) emergency, a home or apartment where a member, perhaps feeling he is being watched or suddenly becoming sick, can hide on a shorttime basis. It is not to be used too frequently; (3) permanent, or "deep freeze," where one or more comrades can remain for extended periods, maybe a month, or even a year, with all necessities being provided them secretly. Farms or cabins in remote areas are regarded as excellent "deep freezes."

Here are some of the requirements demanded by Party specialists for a "safe" hide-out. The list illustrates the Party's attention to detail.

1. The owner must be absolutely loyal to the Party.
2. If an apartment, there must be no doorman or elevator operator. A walk-up apartment of three or four stories is preferable.
3. If a family home, the members must be thoroughly reliable. There should be no children, relatives, or maids.
4. The owner of the hide-out should not be closely identified with the Party, either as a sympathizer or member.
5. The hide-out must be located where there are no curious or talkative neighbors.
6. The quarters must be sufficiently large to accommodate extra guests. Cramping attracts attention.
7. The neighborhood should be one in which some trusted friends of the Party reside. In this way any inquiries in the vicinity will immediately come to their attention.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO xx attention.

It is insisted that elaborate security must surround all underground contacts, whether between just two people or groups. Here are a few points the underground is drilled to remember:

1. Don't use the same meeting place too frequently.
2. If a meeting is held at a home, a member of the family (who, of course, is thoroughly reliable) should be there to answer the door in case an outsider knocks. He can handle the situation better than a stranger and also serve as a lookout.
3. If large numbers are involved, times of arrival and departure should be staggered.
4. If the comrades don't know each other, a predetermined means of identification (a code word, piece of clothing, etc.) should be used.
5. Bring no more documents (books, papers, etc.) than absolutely necessary. Avoid note-taking. Make effective use of memory.
6. Upon departure, a "rear-guard" comrade should thoroughly check the meeting place for any incriminating items. Have any papers been left on the floor? Is there a telephone number scratched on the wall? Has someone forgotten his coat, which might contain Party data?

In one instance six weeks allegedly were spent in bringing twenty people to a national underground conference.

If two comrades don't know each other, advance arrangements must be made, usually by notes, to effect identification for a meeting. Here is one example, a note reading: "On Friday, April 6, 8 P.M. at NE corner, Oak and 9th Sts.--my courier will be standing with a Field and Stream magazine. Bill's courier will approach her and ask, 'Mrs. Polk, what time is it?' She will reply, 'I'm sorry, my watch is stopped.'"

Note the use of a magazine and code words for identification. Just in case the first contact didn't work out, there were alternative instructions. The note continued: "In case no one shows, she will be on the SW corner, Walnut and 10th, same magazine, Friday, 13, 8 P.M., same question and answer. She will wait around only ten minutes each time."

(MORE)



J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-TWO xx time."

These are a few of the security tactics that the communist underground uses to carry out its deceitful operations. As we shall see next, the furtive and fanatical members of this diabolical apparatus will go to any lengths to conceal their illegal activities.

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Be sure to read Mr. Hoover's compelling and provocative account of the fanaticism of communist discipline in the underground--how a member of the apparatus will endure any hardship to carry out his sinister mission, in tomorrow's (name of paper.)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

Armando Penha, who ~~emerged recently from the~~ <sup>MANY</sup> ~~underground of the Communist Party, USA,~~ <sup>COMMUNIST USA (recently)</sup> after eight years of ~~secret~~ membership in the ~~(Party,~~ testified in Boston before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives that:

The Communist Party in the United States "is much stronger today than it ever has been." *Penha added that*

~~There is no doubt the communist apparatus in the U.S. includes agents of the Soviet Union.~~

The Communist Party will never be able to convert the American public at large to its beliefs. It knows it must use the tools handed down by Lenin - force and violence.

For every ~~Communist~~ Party member, ~~there exists a~~ ~~minimum of 10 communist sympathizers, who in turn influence~~ other persons.

This picture of the Communist Party, USA, today had already been written in greater detail in the best seller new book, "Masters of Deceit." The startling revelations of communist underground operations in the United States constitute a highlight chapter of the book. The book was written from the intimate knowledge of the man in the best position to know the extent of the communist menace to U.S. peace and security - J. Edgar Hoover.

In yesterday's instalment of this first and exclusive serialization of the book, Mr. Hoover detailed the fanatical security tactics the Communist Party imposes on the operations of its secret forces. Today, he cites evidence of the

(MORE)

GOOD

(X)

OK

X

*added per call 1/21/58*

(X)

*Stop 3/18  
Leave all in it was.  
Also memo from Hoover 5/15/58*

INSTALMENT TWENTY-THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

XX the

lengths to which the Party has organized protection from detection of its underground agents and spies.

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-THREE

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Noncommunists probably will find it difficult to understand the reckless abandon, personal risk, and sheer physical endurance displayed by communists in their endeavors to conceal their underground activities.

Here are a few of the tactics employed by communists to determine if they are being followed, ~~by members of the FBI or other investigative agencies.~~ (X)

When traveling in automobiles:

1. Driving alternately at high and low rates of speed.
2. Entering a heavily traveled intersection on a yellow light, hoping to lose any follower or cause an accident.
3. Turning corners at high rates of speed and stopping abruptly.
4. Suddenly leaving a car and walking hurriedly down a one-way street in the direction in which vehicle traffic is prohibited.
5. Entering a dark street in a residential area at night, making a sharp U-turn, cutting into a side alley, and extinguishing the car's lights.
6. Driving to a rural area, taking a long walk in a field, then having another car meet them.
7. Waiting at an intersection until the last moment before the traffic changes, then making a sharp left turn in front of oncoming traffic.
8. Stopping at every filling station on the highway, walking around the car, always looking, then going on.

Tactics used when on foot:

1. Leaving subways, buses, and trains at the last moment before the door closes, to prevent being followed off the vehicle.
2. Entering hotels, bus terminals, and department stores from which there are many exits.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx exits.

3. Stooping over in the aisles, then suddenly rising and looking around to see if anybody is searching for them.
4. Doubling back after rounding a corner.
5. Putting a coin in a pay telephone booth, dialing a number, then darting to the door of the adjoining booth to see if anybody is trying to overhear the conversation.
6. Leaving a taxicab after instructing the driver to go around the block and pick them up again.
7. Using store windows as mirrors to see behind them.
8. Walking slowly to a corner, then running down an alleyway.

~~Whoever observes Communist Party members "underground" must be prepared for anything.~~ (X)

One Communist Party couple registered at a motel. Leaving his wife, the husband drove on several miles, parked the car, then stole back to the motel afoot and climbed in the window of the cabin where his wife waited. He hoped in this manner to conceal where he lodged for the night.

A Communist Party woman member sent underground in a Mid-western city in the United States kept riding streetcars, buses and taxis for thirty hours, stopping at no time except for pickup meals. In communist language she was "dry-cleaning"; that is trying to make certain that she was not being followed.

As can be imagined, the pressure on the individual becomes terrific. But as long as a comrade feels he is "dirty" (that is, he suspects the "enemy," meaning the FBI or ~~another investigative agency~~ is near), he must keep up his "dry-cleaning." It has been drilled into him that he can make his "meet" or enter a hide-out only when he's certain he is "clean." (X)

Two "dry-cleaning" tactics are of special interest. One is the switch-point operation: The communist leader is driven to a certain location in a car (called a "drop car"). There he alights and enters another car (called a "pickup car"). Before entering the second car, however, he will walk across a parking lot, over a bridge, or through a department store--the object, of course, being to lose any pursuers. <sup>to try</sup> Sometimes, in a double switch, the pickup car (X)

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx car

drops the Party leader at a second switch, where he will be picked up by a third vehicle and then taken to his destination.

In the second of the interesting "dry-cleaning" tactics, called the Scramble, members (as on leaving meetings), enter automobiles. The drivers start the motors. Suddenly the doors of the cars will open and the comrades, including the drivers, will get out. They quickly take seats in the other cars, whereupon all autos move away in different directions. This is designed to make it hard for any watchful observer to tell who went in which car.

The underground naturally creates intense strains in family life. The undeviating demands of the Party (its interests must come first, regardless of personal consequences) leave deep emotional scars.

Many communist families are separated for years. Children grow up without seeing their fathers. In one instance which came to FBI attention, a communist's child was stricken with polio. His father did not leave his Party work underground to come to the child's bedside.

One little boy whose father was gone said: "I wish my father was in jail. Then I could at least see him."

The Party may promise financial assistance to the families of underground comrades, but many times the support is miserly or does not come at all. Heart-rending results ensue. The wife of an underground communist said:

"During the past four years, Hank and I have been separated most of the time. There has never been any question about carrying out the decisions made, even when Hazel (small daughter) and I were set adrift by the Party with no financial provision and I had to go to my family so that my infant could have food and a place to live. When Hazel almost died from third degree burns, Hank didn't even know about it since we had no way to communicate. I have been cut off from my family completely. The furniture, clothes and other things that we accumulated during our marriage we'll probably never see again. We have moved, and moved, and moved yet again...dragging Hazel around from place to place, carrying out decisions made, guarding our security (communist) and that of others."

(MORE)

The effect was demoralizing. The wife continued:

"I can't have an operation because it would mean six months in a cast and on my stomach - and there is no one to take care of Hazel ...I get overtired physically, and the past four years of the kind of life we have led, with its many pressures of loneliness, financial scrounging, security measures and the sword of Damocles - that of being discovered - hanging over my head, finally took its toll."

The Party ignored this woman's hardships and brought charges that her husband had been seeing her without permission. The utter fanaticism Party discipline breeds is shown by her reaction toward the charges: "If in spite of all this the Board feels that there has been a breach of discipline, then I am willing to abide by any decision made and accept whatever control is agreed upon."

The underground, perhaps more than any other phase of Party activity, emphasizes the blind dedication communists have to their Party. The member becomes so entranced with his mission that his hardships, sufferings, and obstacles become challenges to overcome, not reasons for discouragement.

Children born in the communist underground are <sup>often</sup> not given their true family names. In one instance a father and mother living as an underground couple (transformed couple) entered their child at a nearby school under the family alias. In another case a baby born to underground parents was registered with county authorities under the underground alias. X

Imagine the hypocrisy of such a family situation. A whole world of falsehoods must be invented to satisfy youthful curiosity. What about the parents' childhoods? What about grandparents? Every family matter discussed must be carefully weighed: Will it give away any secrets?

The very character of the underground, with its emphasis on stealth and deceit, degrades human values. Moreover, Party discipline often places great power into the hands of some who, as petty dictators, do not hesitate to use it to inflict revenge and spite on their personal enemies. Many times the underground becomes a catacomb of back-stabbing and the settling of old scores,

(MORE)

Sexual immorality also is abetted by underground assignments. In one case an organizer, who had been sent away from his wife and children, lived in Chicago with another woman. In an Eastern city, a woman whose husband was underground carried on an affair with another man. In still another instance a wife "kept company" with a man while her husband was forbidden by the Party's underground leaders to see her.

But all these shifts, midnight meetings, and escape tactics have only one meaning: the strengthening of the Party. The cardinal question always is, "What is best for the Party?"

One Party leader stated, "Our best people are in this field... They are not in it for adventure, romance, thrills or pleasure...." They "are in it because that is where the Party wants them for political reasons...." He described being sent underground as "one of the toughest and hardest assignments for anyone."

That is why the Party endeavors to make over any individual in the Party into the complete communist man or woman, one unquestioningly obedient even when he is beyond the Party's immediate control. Any allegiance outside the Party must be broken. The underground worker is the member who, even if cut off from the leadership, will know what to do, will carry out the assignment, regardless of what it is. He is the man on whom all revolutionary plans depend.

Consider the case of a high-ranking Communist Party official who one morning got into a high-powered car and started driving east from the heart of the city. Upon reaching the outskirts he doubled back, twice turning corners and coming to abrupt stops. Then, at speeds varying from forty to eighty miles an hour, he continued east for twenty-six miles. Turning around, he retraced his route at eighty miles an hour.

He was "dry-cleaning" in a most dangerous and reckless fashion. Back in the city, for three hours he parked and reparked his car, darting up streets, entering and immediately leaving hotels.

At roughly 4:00 p.m. he left the city again, this time driving south, again at various speeds. After five hours he cut east for fourteen miles, north for two, doubled back for twelve, southeast for forty-two, sometimes running without his lights; parking for a few minutes near buildings, then darting out at savage speed.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-THREE - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

XX speed.

Late that night, after roughly twelve hours of furtive, reckless driving, he arrived at his destination and checked into a hotel. He had covered <sup>SOME</sup> ~~over~~ 360 miles; the normal driving distance was 195. (X)

This type of fanatical communist, when instructed and directed to do so, would not hesitate to lead a riot, steal vital military secrets, sabotage defense industries, or perform illegal activities. Here is the true communist at work, without concern for personal risk or safety.

# # #

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In the next instalment Mr. Hoover discusses ~~function of the communist underground~~ that is most dangerous to the nation - espionage. Don't miss this illuminating, and disturbing, account of how ~~the most~~ vital industrial and military secrets are stolen to help carry out their Master Plan - to make a communist America. Read it tomorrow in (name of paper).

*The 1st phase of communist  
ACTIVITY* (X)

(X)

# # #

(F/S)



# Spied on Reds 6 Yrs. for FBI Fairhaven Man Tells Probers of 'Inside Job'

A wartime military intelligence agent revealed today that he has been an undercover FBI agent inside the Communist Party in Massachusetts for the past eight years.

He is Armando Penha, 37, of Dover st., Fairhaven, who until this morning was a trusted worker in the Communist underground.

He unveiled his true role on the witness stand in a U. S. District courtroom at the Federal bldg., before the Congressional House Committee on Un-American Activities, opening a four-day hearing into Communist activities in New England.

Listening to his testimony were at least 15 persons who have been subpoenaed to testify before the committee after he concludes. Most have been labelled "unco-operative," and some are suspected or acknowledged Communists. A total of 40 witnesses will be heard during the hearings. Six of the waiting witnesses took notes on his testimony.

### LAUDS WIFE, PRELATE

Penha said he volunteered to join the Communists in 1950 to help the country. He said he took an industrial job at a sacrifice of \$40 to \$50 a week, and he was forced to give up attendance at church.

He lauded his wife for her support during the years of his dual role, and he paid warm tribute to Msgr. Walter Furiong of Newton for his spiritual guidance.

Testifying almost without interruption for more than two hours, he made these principal points:

1—The Communist Party in the United States "is much stronger today than it ever has been."

2—There is no doubt in his mind that the Communist apparatus includes the presence of agents of the Soviet Union on American soil.

3—The Communist Party will never be able to convert the American public at large to its beliefs. It knows it must use the tools handed down by Lenin—force and violence.

4—He has personally been in contact with 60 to 85 per cent of the Communist membership in New England. ~~about~~ 315 persons.

Boston Traveler  
Boston Herald  
Boston Globe  
Boston American (X)  
Boston Record  
Christian Science Monitor

Date: 3-18-58  
Edition: SPORTS STAR  
Author or  
Editor:  
Title: HCUA

Class. or 100-32353  
Character: IS-C  
Page: 2 & 45

CC: Bureau

ENCLOSURE

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FBI - BOSTON	

3—The Communist Party section committee, Fall River, Springfield, Lawrence, New Bedford and Providence, with "several" in Greater Boston.

4—When he joined the New Bedford section committee, it was composed of seven or eight members, and there are about 10 party members for each section committee member.

7—For every party member, there exists a minimum of 10 Communist sympathizers, who in turn, influence other persons.

#### NAMES 24 MEMBERS

Penha named 24 persons who he said were members of section committees in New Bedford, Fall River, Providence and Boston.

He disclosed that he remained a trusted party worker to the finish—and only a few days ago was entrusted with the task of assisting some of those who had been subpoenaed to testify at the hearings starting today.

Penha is a short, dapper man, almost handsome and quite impressive in his self assurance and ready speech.

He was born in New Bedford in

Turn to Page 45, Col. 3

Continued From Page 2

1920, and at the age of 12 was taken to Portugal by his parents. The family returned to this country in 1940, and he entered the Army in 1942, serving in military intelligence for 32 months.

After the war, he became an insurance salesman. He volunteered his services to the FBI after the most famous of the FBI's counterespies, Herbert Philbrick of Melrose, revealed his role in a New York trial in 1949.

He joined the Communist party "in behalf of the FBI" in 1950, and when party leaders ordered him to get into the industrial field, he resigned the insurance job for a lesser-paying post in industry. He said he is now "on leave" from the Acushnet Process Co., a large firm manufacturing rubber products.

He told the committee he had "a typical average American education — high school, business school and I hold a bachelor of law degree."

Penha eventually gave a total of 32 names of "hard core" Communist party members, who he said he met while secretly reporting to the FBI. He gave the names, one by one, along with a brief description of each person.

#### WIFE-YONG STRUGGLE

The witness described his struggle to keep his family and his spiritual life somewhere near normal during his eight years as a Communist Party member.

"I am a family man," he related. "When I joined the party after my approach to the FBI, I reported it to my wife.

"I felt that if she would have to share in the outcome, she would have known what I was doing. She has shared in it, and if it were not for my wife I would not have succeeded in the party.

"She entertained secret members. She had to watch our children, care for them, so that they would not reveal anything that had been going on."

Asked by a committee aide what part, if any, religion played in his life, Penha replied:

"It certainly did play a part. I would like to point out to the people present in this room today whether they be Jews, Protestants or Catholics, the fact that they can go to a church, a synagogue, etc.

"It is a great privilege. I didn't realize this until I got into the party. Once in the party, I realized that the very thing I wanted most, that I needed, that I wanted close to me, I could not have

#### SELDOM AT CHURCH

"I do not believe that in eight years I have been in church more than 12 times in various parts of the country.

"I would like to identify a very humble person. He probably would not want me to do so. But I feel I must because he was my spiritual inspiration.

"He is Msgr. Walter Furlong, a man who has given me great guidance and assistance. If it were not for him, I would not have succeeded in my mission. I could not have kept going."

The greatest surprise of the hearing came at the outset when Penha was called to the witness stand. His testimony opened in this vein:

Q—Are you now, at this moment, a member of the Communist Party? A—Yes, sir.

Q—Are you in sympathy with the party's views and policies? A—Absolutely not.

Q—Did you join the party in behalf of the FBI? A—That is correct.

In subsequent testimony, facing a row of stony-faced individuals under subpoena, he related:

...in 1949, I was approached by the FBI... I would like to identify a very humble person... He probably would not want me to do so... But I feel I must because he was my spiritual inspiration.

"I am a family man," he related. "When I joined the party after my approach to the FBI, I reported it to my wife.

"I felt that if she would have to share in the outcome, she would have known what I was doing. She has shared in it, and if it were not for my wife I would not have succeeded in the party.

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"It is a great privilege. I didn't realize this until I got into the party. Once in the party, I realized that the very thing I wanted most, that I needed, that I wanted close to me, I could not have



**ARMANDO PENHA**

Testifies Today

Record-American Photo by Bill Jones

FROM KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, 235 EAST 45th ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FOR RELEASE IN EDITIONS DATED TUESDAY, MAY 6, 1958

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

(PRECEDE)

GOOD

"The Communist Party, USA, started in 1919 as a small, disorganized group of fanatics. Today, it is a dedicated, conspiratorial group operating under modern conditions as an arm of revolution. There is no doubt that the United States is now the prime target of international communism," the man in the best position to know, J. Edgar Hoover, emphasizes in his best seller book, "Masters of Deceit."

*Place in file  
Hoover's  
Masters of Deceit  
5/25/58*

In yesterday's instalment of this first serialization of the book, Mr. Hoover detailed operations of the "underground," the ~~hidden~~ <sup>secret apparatus</sup> members of the Communist Party, in the United States. In today's instalment, he reveals how the underground <sup>Carried</sup> serves the Soviet's own espionage networks in the United States at a time Russia's spokesmen in the country profess good will and peaceful intentions.

(X)

(X)

(END PRECEDE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-FOUR

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

~~There is solid evidence that~~ <sup>among other things</sup> the communist underground in the United States is designed to aid Soviet espionage, to place members in strategic positions in industry for potential sabotage, to discredit law enforcement, and to infiltrate the armed forces.

(X)

Lenin taught the leaders of Soviet world conquest that the "enemy" must be weakened in advance. To wait for something to happen is not the way to achieve revolution. The way must be prepared.

(MORE)

The enemy must be softened up: weaken his will to resist, nullify his capacity for counteraction, impair his morale. Then, when the crisis comes, communists can march to power through the ranks of demoralized opponents as Lenin's followers did in Russia in November 1917.

The Party's relation to Soviet espionage is one of the most potent weapons in the communist underground arsenal. As <sup>PAST</sup> events ~~are~~ ~~World War II~~ have proven--for example the Harry Gold-Klaus Fuchs combination and the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in 1953 on espionage charges--Moscow-directed spying is a vital danger to the integrity and safety of free government. Espionage is utilized not only to secure information but also to weaken the "enemy" from within.

The Soviets instituted espionage operations against the United States very early with the full cooperation of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Comintern "reps" became common figures in Party circles. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, a member of the Russian Communist Party, was sent to the U.S. in January, 1919. Although never recognized by the United States government, he set up an office in New York City. Arthur Adams, who was identified years later as a Soviet spy, on U.S. atomic weapon secrets, was a member of Martens' staff.

In comparison with today's well-organized, efficiently operated spy apparatus, the Soviet agents in the early days were crude and clumsy. ~~They~~ <sup>many</sup> were not proficient in English. They lacked knowledge of our customs and possessed no <sup>special</sup> advanced espionage training.

In late July, 1920, a seaman on the SS Stockholm walked up Pier 95 in New York City. Noticing customs officials searching two other seamen, he called attention to himself by turning and running down the pier. Subsequently, after his apprehension, a package was found concealed in his trousers. Inside was a series of envelopes, one inside the other, with the smallest containing over 200 uncut diamonds appraised at \$50,000. It developed that smuggling of diamonds was one of the early Bolshevik techniques of financing operations in the United States. For whom was the package destined? Inside was a typewritten letter starting, "Comrade Martens."

(MORE)

Unfamiliarity with the United States made dependence of Soviet agents on the Communist Party, USA, vital. Without the ready aid of the Communist Party, USA, Soviet espionage would have had tremendous problems in getting started.

Party officials made assistance to Moscow priority Number One. (Significantly, ~~some~~<sup>some</sup> early leaders in communism in the United States are buried in the walls of the Kremlin among those honored by the Russian Communist Party. ~~They~~<sup>are</sup> Charles Ruthenberg, ~~William~~<sup>AND</sup> ~~Haywood~~, John Reed, and ~~Benjamin~~<sup>and</sup> ~~Robert~~.

What were some of the ways through which the Communist Party, USA, rendered aid to Soviet espionage?

Most important, of course, was recruitment. The Party was able, time after time, to supply recruits, both members and sympathizers, for espionage use. Suppose the Soviet agents wanted a photographer? A source of information in a Pennsylvania steel plant? A trusted short-wave radio expert? The Party was expected to, and did, "fill the bill."

This funneling of talent to the Soviets was often accomplished through a special Party contact who was called a "steerer." A trusted old-time member, he was able to spot recruits for espionage among the Party's ranks and to fulfill requests made by the Soviets.

Suppose a Russian espionage agent entered the United States secretly, en route to another country, or to fill an assignment in Washington, New York or elsewhere in the U.S. Most likely, he would need a new identity, or, in espionage language, a "change of feathers," a faked birth certificate, a false passport, and other identification papers. The Party had the means of supplying these.

There are instances of a Party member setting up a business, ostensibly for legitimate purposes but actually for espionage. World Tourists, which was incorporated in New York in 1927, was operated by Jacob Golos, a communist "steerer," as an espionage "cover."

~~There is evidence~~ (the Party has helped arrange the transfer of espionage funds, established mail drops (where espionage communications come to a third person, later to be given to the espionage network), and operated couriers.

(MORE)

The Soviets were aware early of the dangers of too close an affiliation with the United States Party. An espionage operation might be jeopardized by a known Party member's participation. In the event of a "blow-up," the Party, would be shown to be linked directly with Soviet Russia. This was one thing both the Soviets and Party officials wanted to avoid. Hence, by the early 1940's there was a definite lessening of direct Soviet dependence on the U. S. Party for espionage assistance. The Soviet spy system was ready then to operate independently of the Party in the U.S. Back in 1924, Amtorg Trading Corporation was established as a Soviet government commercial agency. This gave the Soviets an initial "legal" base for espionage operations. In 1933 diplomatic recognition was afforded the Soviet Union, ~~and~~ <sup>Now</sup> ~~numbers~~ trained espionage agents, operating under diplomatic immunity, were enabled to direct operations. After World War II Russians assigned to the United Nations headquarters in New York gave additional striking power to Soviet espionage. In addition there were espionage networks of Soviet satellite countries operating in the United States.

One former Communist Party member who did Soviet espionage work told the FBI that the Soviets had instructed agents to conceal their Party affiliations. This <sup>soon became</sup> ~~was~~ a regular tactic: If engaged in espionage, cut off all connections with the Party, even contacts with former Party friends. When Ethel Rosenberg became a link in the Soviet espionage system, she no longer bought the Daily Worker at her usual newsstand. Another agent, while in the company of a Soviet superior, stopped to purchase a communist publication. He was severely reprimanded.

The Soviets, however, still depended on communists or sympathizers for assistance. In one major apparatus detected by the FBI, twelve of seventeen participants had been Party members.

Elizabeth Bentley told how she collected dues from secret members of the Party when she went to Washington as a courier of the Soviet espionage system. Among those from whom she stated she collected dues were officials of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Department of Commerce, the Air Corps, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the Treasury Department, and others. In some instances one person would collect dues for a group and hand them over to Miss Bentley.

(MORE)

ⓧ

ⓧ

← (By checked  
this with  
Jim Lee  
Div. 5)

The appearance of FBI informants at Smith Act trials made the Soviet Union realize the extent to which FBI agents had penetrated the Communist Party, USA. These, among other revelations, encouraged even more the Soviet tendency to lessen its direct dependence on the Party.

This does not mean, however, that the Party is today not playing an important role in Soviet espionage. As will be explained in these pages, the Party is doing much to prepare the way for the Soviets.

Soviet espionage in the United States is no longer a clumsy, crude affair, but a deadly efficient profession, skillfully directed from Moscow, with well-trained agents supplied with money, modern technical equipment, and experience. To the Soviets, espionage is a part of over-all state policy.

On an April night in 1951, just two minutes before seven o'clock, a tall man wearing a tweed sport coat walked through the darkness toward the Washington Monument in the U.S. Capital city. Brilliant lights played on the famous shrine but the usually bustling place was deserted. Everything was quiet.

Suddenly the tall man stepped from the circle of darkness into the light. He stopped a moment, peered up at the 555-foot top, looked at his watch, then started to walk around the base. On his left hand he wore a glove. A band of adhesive tape circled the middle finger of his right hand, and he carried a red-covered book under his left arm.

This man, whom I shall call Mr. A., was an employee of the United States Defense Department. As part of his work he had access to highly confidential information which the Russians wanted.

Exactly at seven o'clock, another man clad in a dark business suit stepped from the shadows. An espionage contact set up months previously in Austria was being consummated to the exact minute. The second man was Yuri V. Novikov, Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

Novikov was well known to the FBI, since his activities in the United States had gone far beyond those of a diplomatic official. He was audacious almost beyond belief. His brazenness reached a climax when he sat with defense counsel during the espionage trial of the onetime U.S. Department of Justice employee, Judith Coplon. During this trial Novikov wrote out questions and handed them to defense counsel to direct to FBI agents on the witness stand. He was particularly interested in having questions asked pertaining to our internal administration and procedures. (MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-FOUR - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx procedures.

When Novikov met Mr. A. that night in April, 1951, he said, "I'm Mr. Williams," the code of recognition, along with the glove, tape, and red book. The two shook hands, then Novikov took the military specialist by the elbow, directing him from the light. A few words, arranging another meeting, and they parted.

From that night, for an entire year, the Soviets made secretive contacts with Mr. A. Seldom were meetings held in the same place. Some were on lonely lanes or in dead-end streets; one on a narrow rock bridge on a deserted Maryland road after dark.

One time Novikov stood in a movie line; the government employee was to pass by and, seeing him there, would know that a meeting was scheduled one hour later at a nearby school. At other times there were chalk marks on trash cans and a pencil mark on page 100 of the Manhattan (New York) telephone directory in Washington's Union Station, as code signals between Novikov and Mr. A.

Mr. A was a loyal citizen of the United States. In meeting Novikov he was carrying out an assignment given to him by his superiors in connection with the FBI.

Mr. A was a loyal American, and in meeting Novikov he was merely carrying out a duty imposed upon him when he was assigned in Austria with the United States Air Force.

His services were solicited by Otto Verber, who came to the United States as a refugee, as did Kurt L. Ponger, who had married Verber's sister. Both Verber and Ponger were in the armed services, both had acquired American citizenship, and, after the war, both had served in Europe. Upon returning to private life, both settled in Vienna, where they took advantage of the GI Bill and benefits and enrolled in the University of Vienna. In 1949 Ponger was recruited by the Soviet intelligence service, and he in turn recruited Verber. It was later learned that Ponger had been a member of a Communist Party cell in England before he came to the United States as a refugee. He also had indoctrinated Verber.

Ponger had been a member of a Communist Party cell in Vienna, where he lived a while before entering the United States. He had indoctrinated Verber in communism. Ponger was recruited by the Soviet intelligence service in 1949 and he recruited his wife's brother, Verber.

Mr. A, having immediately reported to superiors the endeavor of Verber to obtain information from him, acted thereafter under instructions. Prior to his return to the United States, Verber and Ponger arranged the rendezvous which Novikov kept with Mr. A at

(MORE)



Washington Monument that April night in 1951. I must add that the Treasury of the United States received the thousands of dollars of Soviet funds paid to the loyal ~~X~~ American, Mr. A. (X)

In June, 1953, after pleading guilty to an espionage indictment, Ponger was sentenced to a prison term of from five to fifteen years, while Verber received a sentence of from three years, four months, to ten years. Novikov, who was named in the indictment as a co-conspirator, was declared persona non grata and returned to the Soviet Union.

This and other cases I could cite indicate irrefutably that the Soviet spy system in the United States is a far-flung structure, composed of many networks. There are the "legal" networks; that is, espionage controlled by legal representatives of the Russian government, such as diplomats. Novikov was an example. Then there are illegal networks, meaning spy rings operated by Moscow independent of the legal establishments, ~~Some of them with aid from United States communists.~~ (X) The defection in 1945 of Igor Gouzenko, cipher clerk assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, revealed a ~~similarly~~ close (X) tieup between Soviet espionage and Canadian communists.

\* \* \*

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We shall learn more about the illegal networks in the next chapter, in which Mr. Hoover will discuss the reasons why an individual engages in espionage, and what motivates men and women to betray their country for a foreign tyranny.

\* \* \*

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

INSTALMENT TWENTY-FIVE

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

*Learnings from 2/28/58*

*GOOD*

While professing peaceful intentions, the Soviets are concentrating on building up espionage networks in the United States ~~and~~ *planting concealed* ~~They have more such "sleeper" agents~~ *such* as Colonel Rudolf Ivanovich Abel. ⊕

Abel was the member of the Soviet intelligence service arrested by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service in June, 1957, at the request of the FBI. We had identified him as a concealed Russian agent, ~~and~~ *after* ~~following~~ his indictment in August, 1957, on espionage charges, ~~we made public information which the~~ *was made public* ~~FBI could not~~ *concerning him which the* ~~legally~~ disclose previously. Abel was convicted in Federal Court, Eastern District of New York, in November, 1957, and he was sentenced to thirty years in prison and fined \$3000. Subsequently, ~~a notice of~~ *an* appeal was filed. ⊕

Ordinarily a network includes a principal (the boss), always a Russian national in a "legal" network, that is, ~~an official~~ *a network directed and controlled from* Russian government agency. (Reference was made earlier to the Amtorg Trading Corp. as a Russian espionage cover.) Under him are group leaders, couriers, ~~informers placed in key~~ *and individuals who serve as* sources of information. ⊕

Non-Russians, such as Harry Gold, the American who aided Moscow to get atomic secrets, may ~~reach as high as a group leader or may be even a principal,~~ *serve in various capacities* but at all times they are under the firm control of Soviet superiors. ~~As stressed in these pages before,~~ *In espionage as* in ~~all~~ *other* phases of communism, native comrades exist only to serve the Russian master. ⊕

(more)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-FIVE xx master.

Strange as it may seem, it is difficult for an American to become a Russian espionage agent. The Soviets are highly selective. They will not accept just anybody. Does the prospect have access to confidential data? Will he accept discipline? What is his background? The Russians want to know everything about him--literally everything. Sometimes elaborate verification checks are run through Soviet contacts around the world. Moreover, the breaking-in period of a prospect may be very slow. At first he may be given minor assignments to test his flair for intelligence work and discernment of details, all without risk to any established espionage operation. If he "comes through," he'll be given more responsible work.

Why does an individual engage in espionage? Why do native Americans betray their country for a foreign tyranny?

The motives are many, and often intertwined: money, the temporary thrill of secretive work, personal weaknesses, blackmail, feelings of spite against America because of an imagined wrong, a hope to assist relatives in communist countries. Very important, however, is ideological motivation, an attraction to the theory of communism and/or misguided admiration for Soviet rule in Russia.

Let's examine more closely this ideological motivation since it is playing such a major role today. We can distinguish two major categories:

1. Non-Party ideological motivation: that is, a feeling for or acceptance of the alleged principles of communism. In prior years many thousands were hoodwinked into believing, because of propaganda, that Russia represented a new "era" in humanity, that anti-Semitism was being abolished, that injustices were being rectified, that the problems of hunger, poverty, and racial discrimination were being solved.

Among the reasons Harry Gold, who was never a Party member, gave for entering Russian espionage were: "A genuine desire to help the people of the Soviet Union to be able to enjoy some of the better things of life...Here, too, in the person of the Soviet Union was the one bulwark against the further encroachment of that monstrosity, Fascism...Anything that was against anti-Semitism I was for, and so the chance to help strengthen the Soviet Union seemed like a wonderful opportunity."

(more)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-FIVE xxopportunity."

2. Party ideological motivation: the conditioning of thousands of members and sympathizers in the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, schooling them in loyalty to Moscow. Every Party member, through his training, is a potential communist espionage or sabotage agent.

Julius Rosenberg, a fanatical Party member, actually volunteered his services in betraying U.S. atomic secrets to Russia. David Greenglass, Rosenberg's brother-in-law, was also an ardent communist.

Walking along Highway 66 in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1944, his wife, Ruth, who had just come from New York City, told David that Julius wanted him to furnish information about his work at Los Alamos, where the atom bomb was being prepared. (David was assigned there as an Army technician.)

At first David said no--but his ideological motivation as a communist reversed his decision, and he agreed. He was to do tremendous damage to America by furnishing the Russians, through Rosenberg, with valuable information about our <sup>then</sup> greatest weapon.

Then there are <sup>other</sup> methods <sup>the</sup> Soviets or ~~communists~~ have to induce Americans to <sup>betray their country</sup> ~~commit treason~~. Such as:

1. Threat of exposure and blackmail: Americans seduced into becoming agents are given money (sometimes even against their will). Usually the amount is small, but a receipt is obtained, thus compromising the recipient. Or the victim is induced to sign papers, reports, or documents. If the initial ideological enthusiasm wears off, as it probably will, the agent is trapped. Even if he so desires, he cannot break away.

2. Use of hostages. Once they have control over relatives and loved ones the Soviets do not hesitate to let it be known that unless their victim does their bidding a whole family will be liquidated.

I repeat a statement made in an earlier chapter of this account: The Communist Party, USA, with its thousands of members, represents a vast reservoir of potential espionage agents. Moreover, its vast propaganda and ideological program is daily saturating their hearts, minds, and souls with a sympathetic acceptance of communism. To be a Party member does not automatically mean being an espionage agent, but it makes the member potential spy material, if the request for aid

(more)

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to Russia ever comes. This is a tremendous and present danger to our security.

The United States is strategic spy target Number One for the Soviets. Every effort is being made to penetrate our defenses. The Soviets are interested in literally everything. Any person who believes that espionage means securing only military information is unacquainted with the nature of twentieth-century spying. An army manual, security regulations of a government building, the "political" views of a clerk in an industrial firm, incidents in the life of a prominent person which might be used for blackmail--these and many more are prize espionage objectives. Soviet espionage is both mass (seeking information at random) and specific (trying to obtain a certain blueprint or military operational plan); open (gathering public source items, such as newspapers, magazines, maps, navigational charts, patents, aerial photographs, technical journals) and undercover (use of illegal means to steal information).

Here are some major "areas of interest" of Soviet espionage in the United States:

1. Scientific research and development, with particular attention to atomic energy, missiles, radar defense, electronics, and aeronautics.

2. The strength, deployment, training methods, strategy, and tactics of the armed forces of the United States, together with ordnance, weapons, and military equipment.

3. The intelligence and counterintelligence agencies of the United States, possibilities for penetration.

4. International relations of the United States.

5. Weaknesses in American public and private life that can be exploited for intelligence and propaganda purposes.

6. Anti-Soviet political opposition groups, refugees from the Soviet Union and satellite countries, and nationality groups in the United States.

The world of Soviet espionage, like the communist underground, is bleak and dreary. An individual may work for years and know his superior only as "Bill" or "Henry." His rewards: a smile, a promise, or a token award.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-FIVE xx award.

Harry Gold was awarded the Order of the Red Star, which, among other things, gave him the privilege of free trolley rides in Moscow. To those hoping to get money, the promise is always big, but results are meager. Here are Gold's own words of what he underwent:

"the difficulty in raising money for ...trips; the weary hours of waiting on street corners in strange towns where I had no business to be and the killing of time in cheap movies; and the lies I had to tell at home and to my friends to explain my supposed whereabouts (Mom was certain that I was carrying on a series of clandestine love affairs)...It was drudgery...anyone who had an idea this work was glamorous and exciting was very wrong indeed --nothing could have been more dreary."

Once the American is enlisted as a Soviet ~~informant~~ agent, X the pressure is terrific, with the Soviet principals always wanting more and more. "If you were in Russia," one Soviet superior barked at a sub-agent who had done something unsatisfactory, "you would suffer the same fate as the traitors in the Moscow trials," referring to the purges of the 1930's. Everything is geared to promote Russian interests. If the agent fails, there are threats of dire consequences.

Espionage's twin partner is sabotage. In 1917 and after, sabotage played an important part in the Bolshevik rise to power in Russia. Revolution for the communists is a "science," of which sabotage is an important element. Not to use it, according to communist tactics, is to hinder victory.

So far the communists in the United States have carefully refrained from ~~detectable acts~~ <sup>any show</sup> of terrorism. Basic communist revolutionary tactics dictate against any such sabotage attempts until the eve of hostilities. According to communist teaching, the comrades should not "tip their hands" until the "time is ripe." At a time when the Communist Party, USA, was more open and truthful in proclaiming its objectives and tactics, Party organizers were instructed, "To raise the slogan of an armed demonstration without any anticipation of a speedy transformation into an armed revolt, and before the preconditions for a successful revolt exist, is to be guilty of playing with revolution."

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Never must we forget, however, that even though acts of sabotage are not now part of the Party's program, they may become so in the future. The communist underground provides a cover to commit sabotage when it will serve the communist cause.

As part of the Party's underground the communists are pursuing a program called colonization, designed to place concealed members in strategic positions in basic industries and defense facilities. Colonization is part of the Party's industrial concentration program, which aims at increasing communist influence in industry and labor. This always has a high Party priority. Basic industry is a commonly used Party term, which one communist manual has defined as those industries "upon which the whole economic system depends." Hence to have a Party member in a steel plant would be more advantageous to the communists than one in a corn-cob-pipe factory.

In event of an emergency these colonizers, because of their key positions and concealed capacities, would be able to commit sabotage. A trained communist, by a flip of a switch, the pull of a lever, or the release of death-generating germs, could disrupt the work of thousands.

Moreover, the location of communist members in key industrial facilities places the Party in a position, if it desires, to promote strikes and slowdowns, which can be used as forms of sabotage. These tactics are vital, in communist thinking, to create "revolutionary situations" preparatory to the seizure of power.

How can loyal Americans resist this attack? I turn to this subject in the concluding chapters.

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In the next instalment Mr. Hoover tells how the loyal, responsible citizen can help fight communism. Be sure to read how you can protect your own home, family and nation against the activities of the Master Plotters who are seeking to destroy our way of life, in tomorrow's (name of paper)

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How to  
Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT  
INSTALLMENT TWENTY-SIX

By J. EDGAR HOOVER  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The responsible person who gains an understanding of communism  
knows that such understanding should lead to the question: "But  
what can I do about it?"

My answer is that the person in any free country can do a lot  
about it.

First and most important is to make sure that he does not  
permit the communists to fool him. He should know the answers to  
the false claims of communism.

Next, he should know how to recognize deceptive communist  
fronts.

Members of a trade union or any civic, fraternal, or social  
organization can help spot, expose, and oppose communist efforts  
to infiltrate and capture that organization.

In addition, there may be occasions when any one may have the  
opportunity to help expose and prevent attempts at espionage,  
sabotage, and other subversive activity.

"Yes," the person in the United States might say, "but I'm  
just a private citizen. Isn't spy-hunting a job for the FBI?"

Of course it is a job for the FBI in the United States, one  
given it by Presidential directives, acts of Congress, and rulings  
of the Attorney General. But the FBI can't do it all alone.

The FBI has jurisdiction over more than 140 violations of  
federal law, and in a country with over 170,000,000 inhabitants  
there are fewer than 6200 ~~and~~ agents of the FBI. Hence all of

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INSTALMENT TWENTY-SIX - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx of

these agents are not available for the investigation of subversive activities.

~~Canada and other free countries have similar protective organizations whose forces are limited. All~~ <sup>The FBI</sup> need the help of all loyal citizens.

In a country having a truly representative form of government, citizenship carries with it not only rights but obligations. One of these certainly is to do all the responsible individual can to preserve, protect, and defend his country against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign.

Those individuals who place information they have regarding the communist conspiracy into the proper hands are doing their duty and making a contribution of great value to the security of their country.

"But," one may say, "what can I do? I lead an ordinary life. I don't know any communists. So how can I be of any help?"

My answer to that is: You never know! Let me cite just one instance of a vital service performed by an "average" man who thought he "didn't know any communists."

This man, whom I shall call Mr. J., telephoned one of our field offices. "I've been cleaning out my garage," he said, "and I've found some old rubbish there."

"Yes," said the special agent.

"I guess I'm crazy calling about this, but I thought you might be interested. The stuff doesn't belong to me. It was left here by some roomers who moved a month or two ago. There's a box with a lot of cards."

"What kind of cards?"

"Don't know," the man answered. "I never saw any like them before. There are no names on them. Have words like 'club' and 'section' and some different colored tabs on them. Guess I should have burned them and not..."

"We're certainly glad you called," the agent said.

That telephone call enabled the FBI to secure the membership records of a complete section of the Communist Party. Marked for destruction by the section membership secretary, they had, by mistake, found their way into the rubbish left behind in a garage.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-SIX - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx garage.

An alert, patriotic citizen had placed these records into the hands of ~~active~~ <sup>fight</sup> fighters against communism, helping ~~them~~ to identify many of the most dangerous subversives in his own community.

Many successes in exposing ~~espionage~~ <sup>subversion</sup> start with single, small clues: a scrap of paper, a photograph, an abandoned passport. From these, bit by bit, the entire case is developed by investigation.

Here are a few suggestions of what persons can report to the FBI, ~~or a corresponding protective organization.~~

1. Any information about espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities. ~~An agent~~ <sup>The FBI</sup> is as close to every person as the nearest telephone.

2. Don't worry if the information seems incomplete or trivial. Many times a small bit of information might furnish the data the ~~protective organization~~ <sup>FBI</sup> is seeking.

3. But stick to the facts. No rumor or idle gossip. Tale-bearing should always be avoided. It's not what a person thinks but what he does to undermine national security that is important.

4. Don't try to do any investigating yourself. Security investigations require great care and effort. The innocent must be protected as well as the guilty identified. That is the job for the professional investigator. Hysteria, witch hunts, and vigilantes weaken our internal security.

5. Be alert. A free country's best defense lies in the alertness of its patriotic citizens.

For reasons explained in previous chapters of this account, identifying communists is not easy. They are trained in deceit and trickery and use every form of camouflage and dishonesty to advance their cause.

Yet we must be absolutely certain that our fight is waged with full regard for the liberties of free peoples. This ~~should be~~ <sup>is the</sup> fundamental premise of any attack against communism.

Too often I have seen cases where loyal and patriotic but misguided persons have thought they were "fighting communism" by slapping the label of "Red" or "communist" on anybody who

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-SIX - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER. xx who

happened to be different from them or to have ideas with which they did not agree. One should have the facts before accusing anyone of propagating the Party line.

Smears, character assassination, and the scattering of irresponsible charges have no place in a free nation. They create division, suspicion, and distrust among loyal persons - just what the communists want - and hinder rather than aid the fight against communism.

Our objective in the FBI in any investigation is to secure the facts which will establish the truth or falsity of a complaint or allegation. We do not evaluate nor do we make recommendations for a course of action as to whether a man should be prosecuted, hired, or removed from a job. The FBI is strictly a fact-gathering agency, responsible, in turn, to the Attorney General, the President, the Congress, and, in the last analysis, to United States citizens in general.

There are literally thousands of people in the United States who have been the target of accusation and thousands whose loyalty could be established only by investigation. Most have been grateful ~~for the results.~~ ~~for the~~ ~~results.~~ Some have been resentful that they were investigated at all; but the FBI had an assigned duty to do, and it was done with impartiality and a zealous regard for the rights and reputation of the individuals involved. I can assure you that the FBI is happy when it can establish the innocence of a man wrongfully accused.

Here are a few illustrations of the outcome of investigations which have given members of the FBI staff a feeling of satisfaction:

1. A New York man changed his name to one that was more pronounceable. He was with the Merchant Marine and the accusation was made that he was a member of the Communist Party; that he had been educational director of a Party section and had signed a Communist Party petition. The FBI investigated.

We found that the man in changing his name had taken the name of a Communist Party member who was an educational director <sup>of a section</sup> of the Party in New York. We secured handwriting specimens of the man with the changed name, and our laboratory technicians established that he had not signed the Party petition.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-SIX - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx petition.

2. A scientist was seeking a job with the Army. The accusation arose that he had signed a communist petition. We investigated and found that another man with the same name and initials had signed such a petition, <sup>but he was not the</sup> ~~the scientist, was cleared.~~

3. A government agency received a letter bearing a fictitious signature stating that a government employee was working with the Communist Party. We investigated. Our inquiry revealed that all comment concerning the employee was highly favorable, except for the statement of a seventy-two-year-old woman residing in Philadelphia who was a neighbor of the government worker.

This woman advised she had overheard the employee say, "I'm working for the Communist Party" but admitted the employee said she had made the statement in jest. The neighbor said she had never written any agency of the government concerning the employee. During the investigation we secured specimens of the elderly neighbor's handwriting and determined she had written the defamatory letter out of spite.

There are some who feel that a national police agency should be established in the United States to meet and handle all phases of the communist menace, since under the present structure of government many agencies have a responsibility for internal security. It is claimed that a new, specialized agency would cut through the "red tape," centralize all investigations and determinations, and make for more "efficiency." I disagree.

This nation has no need for a national police. Such an agency would be contrary to American tradition. The present system of cooperation among the United States law-enforcement agencies is completely adequate to meet the needs. Weaknesses do exist. They lie not in the system itself but in its implementation. These weaknesses can be and are being overcome.

# # #

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In the next instalment Mr. Hoover discusses Communism: A False Religion. Don't miss his penetrating description of the Soviet mentality which represents a systematic, purposive, and conscious attempt to destroy Western civilization and roll history back to the age of barbaric cruelty and despotism, all in the name of "progress."

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY

Communism in America Today and How to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

INSTALMENT TWENTY-SEVEN

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Something utterly new has taken root ~~to an amazing extent among~~ <sup>in America</sup> ~~Western nations~~ during the past generation, a communist ~~substituted~~ mentality representing a systematic, purposive, and conscious attempt to destroy a free civilization and roll history back to the age of barbaric cruelty and despotism, all in the name of "progress." Evil is depicted as good, terror as justice, hate as love, and obedience to a foreign master as patriotism.

This mentality is limited to a minority, the disciplined corps of the Communist Party. However, communist thought control, in all its various capacities, has spread the infection, in varying degrees, ~~throughout the world~~ <sup>to most</sup> ~~phases of life.~~ <sup>AMERICAN</sup>

This mentality, ~~imported from Russia~~ <sup>imported to our land</sup> for the purpose of eventually leading to a destruction of the ~~free~~ <sup>AMERICAN</sup> way of life, poses a crucial problem for every one of us.

In our tolerance for religious freedom, for separation of church and state, we sometimes lose sight of the historical fact: Western civilization has deep religious roots. Our schools, courts, legislative bodies, social agencies, philanthropic organizations as well as our churches are witnesses to the fundamental fact that life has a significance that we ourselves do not create.

It is part of our tradition and belief that each of us is . . . obligated to give, when reality requires it, a reason for the faith that is in him. The presence of communism in the world is a kind of stern reality which should make each of us explore our own faith as deeply as we can and then speak up for it.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-SEVEN xx it.

The very essence of our faith in truly representative government and our fellow man is rooted in a belief in a Divine Supreme Being.

The most basic of all communist comments about religion is the statement of Karl Marx that religion is "the opium of the people." This Marxian doctrine has been restated by William Z. Foster and applied to communist action ~~in the United States, in the Soviet~~ ~~at all from within should be successful~~, in these words, "...God will be banished from the laboratories as well as from the schools."

Communists have always made it clear that communism is the mortal enemy of Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and any other religion that believes in a Divine Supreme Being.

Don't think that "the communists have changed their minds about religion," said Nikita Khrushchev, ~~in 1954~~. "We remain the atheists that we have always been; we are doing as much as we can to liberate those people who are still under the spell of this religious opiate."

As long as communism remains, the assault on the religious faiths ~~of the people~~ will continue.

To the communists Marxism-Leninism is the "perfect science." It accounts for everything; it has a plan for everything; it can be the source of everything man needs. Therefore, said Lenin, "We shall always preach a scientific philosophy; we must fight against the inconsistencies of the 'Christians'...."

In making Marxism-Leninism the "perfect science," the communists characterize religion as a superstitious relic. "Religion, in its thousands of varieties," said William Z. Foster, "was first evolved by primitive man everywhere as the most logical explanation he could devise of the complex, mysterious and often terrifying natural phenomena with which he was surrounded, as well as to work out a plausible conception of his own and the world's existence."

Though "historically inevitable" for primitive man, Foster goes on to say, religion has now been made obsolete by science. Science, as it advanced, gave "irrefutable materialist explanations" of the phenomena which puzzled primitive man. Hence, "in the modern world... there is therefore no longer...even the possibility, of a religious interpretation of man and the world."

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This communist teaching glosses over the fact that science never has given an "irrefutable" explanation of ultimate reality, neither materialistic nor any other kind. The communists ignore the further fact that the faith of religious people is a moral necessity and a sense of personal relationship, not a completion of laboratory science.

In addition to dismissing religion as primitive, the communists claim that it is a mere instrument of exploitation: another weapon in the hands of the capitalists. As Lenin said: "Religion is a kind of spiritual intoxicant, in which the slaves of capital drown their humanity, and blunt their desire for a decent human existence."

Again: "...it is quite natural for the exploiters to sympathize with a religion that teaches us to bear 'uncomplainingly' the woes of hell on earth, in the hope of an alleged paradise in the skies."

William Z. Foster, who in the United States emphasizes the same theme, and who has always emphasized the correct Communist Party line, declared, "...the Church...has identified itself with political reaction." And again, "...the Church is one of the basic forces now fighting to preserve obsolete capitalism and its reactionary ruling classes, in the face of advancing democracy and socialism."

The followers of Marx have a way of calling scientific any dogma to which they intend to cling, regardless of whether it can be supported by conclusive evidence. And communism has to cling to its antireligious dogma, not for scientific reasons, but for reasons of ideology and strategy. It cannot permit man to give his allegiance to a Supreme Authority higher than Party authority, for such allegiance to a higher authority carries with it a sense of freedom, of immunity to Party edict and discipline.

Lenin made clear the function of communist morality: "At the root of Communist morality, there lies the continuation and completion of Communism." In practice this has simply meant that the end justifies the means. That is why a communist can commit murder, pillage, destruction, and terror, and feel proud; lie and feel no compunction; seek to destroy ~~any~~ <sup>The American</sup> form of government and feel justified. Communism has turned the values of Western civilization upside down.

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Hatred of all gods was Karl Marx's credo. Yet communism is, in effect, a secular religion with its own roster of gods, its own Messianic zeal, and its own fanatical devotees who are willing to accept any personal sacrifice that furthers the cause.

It would seem that communists, in view of the above, would make clear, always and at every point, their opposition to religion. Often, however, tactics have made it necessary to play down or to conceal entirely the Party's intentions in line with Lenin's advice: "...but this does not mean that the religious question must be pushed into the foreground where it does not belong." The communists realize that the vast majority of non-communists believe in God. Too bold an approach might antagonize them, doing the Party more harm than good.

Their "practical approach" means attempting, through deceptive tactics, to capture support from American religious groups for an atheistic Communist Party. As Foster put it in 1937: "In consequence, the anti-religious Communist Party is now to be found in close united front cooperation with dozens of churches and other religious organizations on questions of immediate economic and political interest to the toiling masses."

In line with these tactics, the Party is today engaged in a systematic program to infiltrate American religious groups. "The Communist Party," said the National Committee in 1954, "declares that it seeks no conflict with any church or any American's religious belief. On the contrary, we stretch out our hand in the fellowship of common struggle for our mutual goal of peace, democracy and security to all regardless of religious belief."

Members are being told: "Join churches and become involved in church work."

The Party's objectives inside religious groups are several:

1. To gain "respectability": "...a church is the best front we can have." Comrades, by associating in church circles, secure an "acceptable" status in the community, greater credence for their opinions, and the lulling of noncommunist suspicions.

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-SEVEN. xx suspicions.

2. To provide an opportunity for the subtle dissemination of communist propaganda. Churches are convincing places in which to identify communist programs with such genuine religious values as "peace," "brotherhood," "justice." One member bragged how in a church talk he had "plugged" for Marx.

3. To make contact with youth: through class discussions, recreational affairs, etc.

4. To exploit the church in the Party's day-to-day agitational program. In the 1930's and 1940's the approach was chiefly through "immediate economic and political" problems, with the Party attempting to exploit the church's legitimate interest in better housing and the elimination of social injustices. Today this tactic is overshadowed by the "peace" issue. Every possible deceptive device is being used to link the Party's "peace" program with the church. One Communist Party section issued instructions that every clergyman in the community be contacted to give a sermon on "peace."

The church remains, in communist eyes, an "enemy" institution to be infiltrated, subverted, and bent to serve Party aims. Any successes make the comrades diabolically happy. One member, talking to her communist friends, laughed about prayers in church. "Who wants to hear such stuff, but what can I do? That's the only way I can get in there."

The Party's aim, in addition to that of exploiting the church, is to neutralize religion as an effective counterweapon. At present virtually nothing is being said in open Party propaganda that is anti-religious. Pamphlet after pamphlet is issued on civil rights, "peace," "democracy"; very few on religion. Communists in the United States, however, are on record in regard to their views on religion: for example, Earl Browder, Communism in the United States (1935), pages 334-49; William Z. Foster, The Twilight of World Capitalism (1949), pages 87-99 and "Reply to a Priest's Letter," Political Affairs (October, 1954). Also, a pamphlet, Science and Religion, by Marcel Cachin (1946), editor of L'Humanité, French communist newspaper, has been circulated. X

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY - INSTALMENT TWENTY-SEVEN xx circulated.

When tactically expedient, the communists even liken themselves to the early Christian martyrs suffering persecution for attempting to aid mankind.

Behind these deceptive tactics, however, can be seen the real nature of communism. For the Communist Party member, religion is not a private affair. No tolerance is allowed. He cannot be a Marxist and adhere to a religion.

To meet the communist challenge no hesitant, indifferent, half-apologetic acts on our own part can suffice. Out of the deep roots of religion flows something warm and good, the affirmation of love and justice; here is the source of strength for our land if we are to remain free. It is ours to defend and to nourish.

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Tomorrow, Mr. Hoover tells us what he believes citizens must do in order to stay free of the tentacles of communism. He outlines five special areas in which every patriotic person can fight the sinister conspiracy that threatens the priceless heritage of freedom, justice, and religious spirit. Don't miss this provocative final instalment, in (name of paper).

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J. EDGAR HOOVER'S OWN STORY:

Communism in America Today and How  
to Fight It

First serialization of his revealing book

MASTERS OF DECEIT

INSTALMENT TWENTY-EIGHT

BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The communist revolution in Russia is forty years behind us. In these four decades communism has had a chance to show what it does with power in its hands; how it treats the people who live under it; what its attitudes are toward law, education, science, and religion; how it handles its relations with the noncommunist world.

It stands condemned on its own record.

It has revealed basic errors in theory and practice which will eventually bring about its downfall. To turn around Karl Marx's famous comment on capitalism, communism is digging its own grave.

It cannot survive because it is anti-God and anti-man.

For all too long, communism's true character has been concealed by its own propaganda, abetted by public ignorance and apathy. Soviet Russia was hailed as an "advanced democracy" and communism as "twentieth-century Americanism." Such phrases deceived free people and gave the Party a protective cloak.

Marxism-Leninism stands revealed not as a "new world" of hope and justice but as an evil conspiracy in pursuit of power. Its cost in human misery and waste of human life is almost beyond description. Every home in America today is deprived of an even higher standard of living as a result of the tax burden brought on by the utter necessity of keeping our defenses strong against the world-wide advance of communism.

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*See page 22 of memo  
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The communist revolution was conducted not as a "dictatorship of the proletariat" but as a dictatorship by dictators who rode roughshod over the workingman.

Stalin, in the middle 1930's, contended that socialism was at last fully established in Russia and that the movement from then on would be toward the second stage which Marx had foretold: true communism and the withering away of the state.

Even as Stalin spoke, in terms designed to attract ~~idealists~~ idealists, he was making the Soviet state ever more powerful. X

Khrushchev gives the answer to those who still repeat the shabby, deceitful phrases of communist dogma.

When it suited his purpose, ~~that is, before he succeeded to~~ <sup>revealed</sup> ~~Stalin's true nature~~ Khrushchev ~~exposed~~ the real nature of communism under Stalin: a world of slave labor camps, betrayed human rights, and calculated fear. X

An answer also comes from Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese communist dictator who, without apparent shame, admitted that 800,000 of his fellow countrymen had been "liquidated," meaning killed, <sup>between 1949 and</sup> ~~by 1954~~ <sup>the beginning of</sup> 1954. X

The answer comes emphatically from Americans who discovered themselves to have been duped and victimized by the Communist Party, and broke with it.

<sup>Therefore</sup> ~~Communists~~ <sup>M/has</sup> have bitterly indicted communism. Communist practice has indicted communist theory ~~and practice~~ communist actions have indicted <sup>The</sup> ~~the~~ perverted use of such lofty words as "democracy," "peace," "justice," "liberty," "civil rights," "tolerance." X

But we cannot afford the luxury of waiting for communism to run its course like other oppressive dictatorships. The weapons <sup>of</sup> ~~which~~ <sup>STILL</sup> ~~communists have turned on the peoples in free countries~~ are formidable. They become even more effective when we lower our guard. X

It is urgent <sup>THAT</sup> ~~there~~ <sup>OUR</sup> be a rekindling of faith in <sup>AMERICA</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>based on our priceless heritage</sup> ~~principles~~ ~~of freedom, justice, and religion~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~reliance~~ ~~on~~ ~~time-tested~~ ~~and~~ ~~proven~~ ~~principles~~ of freedom, justice, and religion. X

In a renewed fight against communism it is important for five facts to be understood and remembered:

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx remembered:

1. The communists emphasize ideological study, meaning, of course, Marxism-Leninism. Such study has been the very foundation of their "monolithic unity": their power to keep people in line no matter how the "line" changes. Their study allows no deviation for free thought and independent action. Also, it provides them with a common international language since communists in all countries, under Moscow's dictates, have the same meaning for words and phrases. This emphasis upon study has been the means whereby they have captured the minds of many young persons who are lacking in proper companionship and adult influence.

It is sad but true that many young people have been drawn into communist clubs or study groups because of loneliness. We know this from the stories of hundreds of former communists the FBI has been called upon to investigate.

There is need to show youth what greater opportunities and benefits free, representative government offers than communists dictators can ever provide.

*We as a*  
~~People in the United States, Canada and other Western nations~~  
 have not been sufficiently articulate and forceful in expressing pride in ~~our~~ <sup>OUR</sup> traditions and ideals. In homes and schools there is need to "let freedom ring." In all history there is no story which compares with ~~the march of freedom and raising of living standards~~ <sup>America's effort to become free and to incorporate freedom</sup> ~~in the Western societies.~~ <sup>in our institutions</sup> For too long there has been a tendency to keep silent while the communists, their sympathizers, and their fellow travelers have been telling the world what is wrong with democracy.

Suppose every American spent a little time each day, less than the time demanded by the communists, in studying the Bible and the basic documents of American history, government, and culture? The result would be a new America, vigilant, strong, but ever humble in the service of God.

2. To the Communist Party, youth is regarded as the important training stage. We must meet this challenge. ~~Western free nations~~ <sup>AMERICA</sup> must devote ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> best efforts to make youth responsible, conscious of national obligations, and eager to be good citizens. My experience and observation point to certain facts which we need to consider in providing for youth.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER xx youth.

First, youth gravitates toward youth. The young person who feels left out of normal family life may remain a "solitary." But he may, according to his background and make-up, join a delinquent gang. He may join a Communist Party front or club. Given half a chance, youth gravitates toward companionship with competent, generous, and experienced adults.

Practically all my career in the FBI I have been face to face with young people becoming involved in difficulties or coming under the communist spell. Invariably I have discovered that they all had one thing in common. In their early years, they could not talk things over with their parents. Their parents were either too busy, or not interested, or resented any difference of opinion.

Our youth want not only to talk to adults, they want to work with adults. If the adults can show them, in action, that it is possible to combine high idealism with solid practicality and patience, the results will enhance character and citizenship development manifold.

3. The communists stress action. This means carrying out assigned responsibilities now--not tomorrow, the next day. To communists the Party means continual action, not just talk, or waiting for elections or meetings. Action must supplement good intentions in building the ~~free United States and other Western nations~~ <sup>America</sup> of the future. We need to provide our youth with activity groups. X

To give them only a high standard of material advantages or a constant diet of recreation is not enough. Recreation must be made part of a life of responsibility, otherwise it becomes merely a preface to boredom. Our young people, as well as adults, need to be working members of our republic and citizens on duty at all times.

4. Communists accent the positive. In their deceptive and perverted way they are always purporting to stand for something positive. "Better," "higher," etc., are trade-marks in their language.

We, too, should strive for goals that are genuinely better, higher, and more noble, trying to improve self, community, and nation. A strictly negative attitude or the philosophy of just staying afloat--all too common today--will never meet the impact of the communist challenge.

(MORE)

INSTALMENT TWENTY-EIGHT - BY J. EDGAR HOOVER

xx challenge.

5. Most important of all is faith. Let us not blind ourselves to the fact that communists do have a "faith." True, it is falsely placed, but still it inspires them to sacrifice, devotion, and a perverted idealism.

If communists can be so inspired from error, falsehood, and hate, just think what we could do with truth, justice, and love! I thrill to think of the even greater wonders America could fashion from its rich, glorious, and deep tradition. All we need is faith, real faith.

The Communist Party's effort to create "communist man," to mold a revolutionary fighter completely subservient to the Party's desires, is destined to fail. The power of bullets, tanks, and repression will bulwark tyranny just so long. Then, as the Hungarian Freedom Fighters showed in 1956, man's innate desire for freedom will flare up stronger than ever.

This hope and belief must give us renewed zeal to work untiringly to uphold the ideals of justice and liberty which have made this nation great.

With God's help, America will remain a land where people still know how to be free and brave.

THE END

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FROM KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, 235 East 45th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Note to Editors: Several newspapers which will serialize the J. Edgar Hoover book, "Masters of Deceit," requested a biography of the author. The following story, by a staff writer for King Features Syndicate, is for your optional use at any time. Photos of Mr. Hoover were sent you with the early instalments of the serialization.

King Features Syndicate

X X X

MR. FBI.

About the author of "Masters of Deceit," the Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It.

by John da Lorenzi

Mention the Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, -- or the FBI as it is more generally known -- and you immediately think of J. Edgar Hoover.

It's natural for one is the projection of the other; more than any other organization in Washington, it bears the imprint of one driving personality. It was back in 1924 that Attorney General Harlan F. Stone called a promising 29-year-old lawyer into his office and asked him to take over and reorganize the Bureau, which had been created in 1908.

At this time it was more noted for its political appointees than for its trained investigators. It was not an unusual thing in those earlier years for the "agents" to be used by Senators and Congressmen during campaign periods to dig up damaging information about their opponents. Hoover, who had been with the Bureau since 1921, was disgusted with jobs in the Bureau being used as patronage plums and the general slipshod manner in which the organization was run.

He has often repeated the story of how he said he would accept the appointment as Director "on one condition." The condition was that politics should not enter the Bureau's administration.

He quoted Mr. Stone, who subsequently became Chief Justice, as replying:

"Young man, that is the only condition under which you can have your job."

(MORE)

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*p. 57*

*167*



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J. EDGAR HOOVER

PAGE 2

BY JOHN DE LORENZI

XX job "some" (circled)

(X)

Today the FBI boasts a select personnel of <sup>roughly</sup> 14,000 of whom <sup>some</sup> 6,200 are special agents, the majority of these being lawyers and accountants, though it also includes engineers, artists, salesmen and others. The personnel is a far cry from the ~~900~~ assorted political hacks, self-appointed investigators and even confidence men who made up the Bureau when Hoover instituted his house cleaning. He has so successfully established the integrity of the Bureau through his relentless demands for efficiency and dedication of purpose that he has won the confidence of each succeeding administration, whether Democrat or Republican.

(X)

During the Thirties, the FBI rapidly gripped the imagination of the American people by the manner in which it quickly and efficiently loosened the hold that gangsters and hoodlums had on the nation as a by-product of the Prohibition era. Among those that Mr. Hoover's sharp-shooting special agents blasted out of the headlines and into eternity or long prison terms were John Dillinger, Alvin Karpis, "Baby-Face" Nelson, "Pretty Boy" Floyd, "Machine Gun" Kelly, Ma Barker and many others.

And in so doing, Hoover achieved something else which had been among his primary aims -- kids playing games no longer made the unsavory, brutal gangster the hero, it was the "G-Man" who now took that role.

The Thirties also saw fall across the nation the lengthening shadow of a shocking crime - kidnaping. The most infamous was the abduction of the infant son of Colonel and Mrs. Charles A. Lindbergh from his home near Hopewell, N.J., on March 1, 1932. It was two and one half years before his kidnaper and murderer -- Bruno Richard Hauptmann -- was tracked down through the combined efforts of the New Jersey State Police, the New York City Police and the FBI.

Out of this came closer cooperation of the FBI and local police authorities, but even more important it resulted in the Lindbergh Kidnap Law which in its present amended form allows the FBI to enter a case within 24 hours after the kidnaping and provides <sup>in certain instances</sup> the death penalty for the kidnaper.

(X)

(MORE)

2013

J. EDGAR HOOVER  
BY JOHN DE LORENZI

PAGE 3  
xx kidnaper.

OK  
One of the great, classic pieces of detective work by the FBI was in the case of Charles F. Urschel, Oklahoma City oil man, who was released by kidnapers after payment of \$200,000. He had been blindfolded during his entire abduction but the clues he was able to give FBI agents of sounds he heard were enough to lead them to where he had been held captive. What were they? A downpour of rain, two planes overhead daily, a woman at a filling station remarking that "the crops here are burned" and a mineral taste in the water.

OK  
And there was the Peter Weinberger kidnaping in New York in 1956 in which FBI men sifted <sup>through</sup> ~~more than~~ two million specimens of handwriting of all types in order to run down successfully the writer of the kidnap note. (X)

OK  
In World War II, the FBI had prime responsibility for guarding the internal security of the United States. So well did it carry out this trust that not a single case of <sup>enemy directed</sup> ~~domestic~~ sabotage developed during the war years, despite the fact enemy agents were landed in the United States by submarine. (X) p. 206

In the post-war years, the FBI has been relentless in exposing Communist efforts to undermine the United States. It is of this continuing threat that Hoover deals in his new book "Masters of Deceit" which will appear in (name of paper and beginning date).

At 63, Hoover is a bachelor who lives alone in a two-story, two-bedroom brick home in Northwest Washington. A man with thousands of acquaintances in all walks of life but because of the nature of his job, few close friends, he has been described as a realistic idealist.

Personally, he is a meticulously neat, clean-shaven individual with black hair -- now graying around the edges -- and penetrating black eyes. He is affable and charming but you have the feeling that beneath this pleasant surface there is a pulsating volcano of energy under rigid, disciplinary control.

At home he likes to relax with one of the books from his large personal library. His favorite reading is inspirational type of literature. Perhaps here is the key to Hoover's character, for his boyhood desire was to be a minister. Though he never achieved this ambition, the satisfaction of this desire can be found in the imprint that he has made on the agency he heads, for he has encased the FBI in an armor of invincibility and incorruptibility and has armed it with the all-powerful lance of moral righteousness.

(MORE)

J. EDGAR HOOVER  
BY JOHN DE LORENZI

PAGE 4

xx righteousness.

Though at one time he could be seen at nearly every top sports event, in recent years his work load has made this impossible. And more and more he has devoted what little spare time he has to the problems of juvenile delinquency.

As a child in Washington, D. C., where he was born on Jan. 1, 1895, he was slight of build, small for his age, but had an intensity of purpose that made him an excellent student. He was one of four children.

He was graduated from high school in 1913 as an "A" student and valedictorian of his class. He went to work as a clerk in the Library of Congress and enrolled as a night student in the George Washington University Law school. He received his bachelor's degree in 1916 and took his master's degree in 1917. In July of that year he entered the Department of Justice as a law clerk at a salary of \$990 a year.

Just two years later he was appointed special assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, <sup>AS</sup> he was placed in charge of a General ~~in charge of investigation of~~ *Division, charged with making a study of* subversive activities. In 1921 he was named assistant director of the old Bureau of Investigation, the post he held when he was picked by Stone to reorganize it. (p. 41)

How much longer Hoover will continue as head of the FBI is anyone's guess but it appears that as far as Capitol Hill and millions of ordinary citizens across the country are concerned, he can have the job for life.

Certainly, if he were to leave government service, he would have no employment problem. Attractive offers from all over the world are constantly dangled in front of him. The International Boxing Club, for an example, once offered him a cool million dollars to be its "czar" for a ten year period. At another time he refused to be considered as baseball's high commissioner.

Plainly, his heart and mind belong to the FBI and the United States as a whole.

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FROM KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC. 235 E. 45TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

*Pls return to Stukinaker*  
*R. 4242*

Editors: The following account of the beginnings of the Communist Party in the United States, and some of its political manifestations, is provided for use, if desired, as a side-piece during the first week of your serialization of J. Edgar Hoover's book, "Masters of Deceit." One of the photos accompanying the series, showing William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow campaigning for President and Vice President, would be an appropriate illustration for it.

King Features Syndicate

\* \* \* \*

HOW COMMUNIST PARTY  
GOT STARTED IN U.S.

In "Masters of Deceit," J. Edgar Hoover traces the history of the Communist Party in this country back to a convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago in 1919.

"The socialists were badly split. The left wing, thrilled by the Russian October Revolution, wanted to establish a Communist Party. The rightists opposed.

"The procommunist left-wingers, however, could not agree on a program of action. One group wanted to use the emergency convention to take over the Socialist Party. Another group objected, wanting to set up a Communist Party right away.

"Men famous in the history of American communism--Benjamin Gitlow, John Reed, Charles Ruthenberg, Alfred Wagenknecht--were present. Each was trying to assemble followers for his point of view.

"One group, the Reed-Gitlow group, refused entrance to the Socialist Convention, retired to another room in Machinists' Hall (later to the IWW Hall) and on Aug. 31, 1919, founded the Communist Labor Party of America (CLP). Wagenknecht was named Executive Secretary.

"A rival group, together with a number of foreign-language federations, met at Smolny Hall, headquarters of the Russian Federation. Its members criticized the Communist Labor Party as not being truly communistic. The CLP returned the retort, and all attempts at reconciliation failed. On Sept. 1, 1919, this rival group formed the Communist Party of America (CP). Split off was a group from Michigan that was later to form the Proletarian Party. Ruthenberg was chosen as Executive Secretary of the CP.

(more)

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xx CP.

"Not one but two Parties, the CLP and the CP, each claiming to be the true representative of communism and bitterly maligning the other, came out of the Chicago turmoil. The CLP set up headquarters in Cleveland, the CP in Chicago.

"The communists of 1919 were a motley lot, vastly different from the highly disciplined, efficiently operating Party of recent years. Though not lacking zeal or fanaticism, they had little Party training or discipline. They varied in extremes from bitter die-hards, who were ready to do anything for the "cause," even throw a bomb or lead a riot, to comical show-offs, attracted by violent language and subversive possibilities. Many believed revolution in the United States was imminent.

"The great majority were foreign-born. Many had difficulty speaking English. The Communist (June 12, 1920) states: 'The Communist Party, from the very beginning of its existence, found its work hampered because it had in its ranks only a few men capable of expressing Communist principles in the English language.' The comrades lacked a practical understanding of American affairs, especially in the trade union field. Soon all kinds of wild-eyed plans arose. Each leader became his own interpreter of Marx and Lenin. Cliques, quarrels, and personal rivalries were rife.

"On one point, however, all agreed: obedience to Soviet Russia. Every communist considered Lenin a god and the Russian Bolsheviks as models of perfection. These were the men who had made the October Revolution. Soviet Russia, at this time, was assuming an authority over communists in this nation that it has never relinquished. This control was to become ever more pronounced, inescapable, and dangerous.

"The history of the Communist Party in the United States since 1919 is characterized by two main trends: (1) the development of a disciplined Party structure or, in the words of William Z. Foster, 'the building of a Leninist Party of a new type', and (2) the complete and unquestioning subservience of the Party to Soviet Russia. Every word and deed, hope and aspiration, of American communists over the years has promoted these two objectives...

"There were complications. Just a few weeks after the founding conventions, in the fall of 1919, the federal government

(more)

xx government

and local authorities initiated prosecutive action against the communists.

"As a consequence the communist movement went underground. Comrades met in secret hide-outs, maintained underground headquarters, and sent messages by couriers. Hidden printing presses poured out propaganda.

"Underground or not, the 'civil war' continued. The cramped quarters did not hinder the oratorical artillery. The inter-Party strife became fantastically bitter.

"Moscow did not like either this bickering or the enforced underground work. The Kremlin wanted a single, unified Party, able to operate legally (above ground) as well as illegally (underground)

...

"Moscow intervened through the Third International, an organization designed by the Soviets to control Communist Parties in other nations and to serve as an instrument of world revolution.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International sent a letter to the two underground Parties in the United States, the CP and CLP. The split, said the Comintern, had harmed the communist cause in the United States. Unity must be established 'in the shortest possible time'...

"In May, 1920, a 'unity' convention of the Communist Labor Party and a faction (led by Ruthenberg) of the Communist Party was secretly held at Bridgman, Mich., resulting in the formation of the United Communist Party of America (UCP). The delegates, as a security measure, used assumed names. A Comintern 'rep' was present.

"Many elements of the Communist Party, however, refused to go along and boycotted the new UCP. A chief point of dispute between the CP and CLP was the position of the foreign-language federations: should they be autonomous within the Party, having the right, if they desired, to withdraw, or be completely subject to the will of the Party? This issue touched the very heart of communist doctrine. No Communist Party could ever allow a member the 'right' to withdraw.

"Finally in May, 1921, after another year of bickering, the UCP and the remainder of the CP formed the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International, at a secret

(more)

xx secret

two-week convention at Woodstock, N.Y. The group's program, among other things, provided that the Communist Party would work for violent revolution, preparing 'the workers for armed insurrection as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state.'

"By early 1921 an outward unity was achieved in the communist movement, but the second problem still remained: bringing the Party into the open. The Third Congress of the Comintern (June-July, 1921) defined the problem:

"The Communist International draws the attention of the Communist Party of America (unified) to the fact that the illegalized organization must not only serve as the ground for collecting and crystallizing the active Communist forces, but that it is the Party's duty to try all ways and means to get out of the illegalized condition into the open, among the wide masses.'

"The outline of the Party of today was beginning to take shape, the true Party conceived by Lenin, having both a legal and illegal apparatus. The legal aspect would be necessary to conduct communist propaganda among the noncommunist masses, to infiltrate organizations and operate communist fronts. But the underground must exist, for the revolution, the final aim of the Party, could never be anything but illegal. The underground apparatus would handle espionage, super-secret Party work, and would always be ready to expand if the legal Party, because of 'capitalist' opposition, could not operate fully. The Communist Party at all times has desired both an upper and a lower level.

"In December, 1921, the Workers Party of America was formed, a 'legal' outlet for the underground Communist Party." X

The "Workers Party" put forward William Z. Foster in 1924 as a Presidential candidate. He was given 36,383 votes. Foster ran again, with Benjamin Gitlow as his Vice Presidential running-mate, in 1928. The vote rose that year to 48,770 votes. X

In the 1932 Presidential campaign, the Party denominated itself openly as Communist, with Foster again the "Presidential candidate" and a Negro, James W. Ford, as the "Vice Presidential candidate." Having candidates for offices enabled communists to claim they were devoted to democratic processes, and also enabled them to use radio time and other general media to reach the public with their X

(more)

xx their

propaganda. The communist vote in 1932 totalled 102,991.

As will be told in a subsequent instalment of this first serialization of J. Edgar Hoover's book, in nominating James W. Ford to run for Vice President on the Communist Party ticket in 1932, the Communist Party followed orders from the Comintern. C. A. Hathaway, then a member of the Party's Election Campaign Committee, <sup>national</sup> <sup>Natural</sup> ~~quoted~~ the Comintern <sup>instructions</sup> ~~resolution~~.

"We propose to break up the present artificial State boundaries...and to establish the state unity of the territory known as the 'Black Belt,' where the Negroes constitute the overwhelming majority of the population...In this territory, we demand that ~~the~~ Negroes be given the complete right of self-determination; the right to set up their own government in this territory and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States."

The communists have had other splinter "parties" as political fronts. In "Masters of Deceit," J. Edgar Hoover identifies "the People's Rights Party" as one of the latest fronts created to give the Communist Party the legal right to run communist candidates. In 1946, 1952, 1954 and again in 1957 communist candidates ran for municipal, state <sup>or</sup> and national office in New York City under the banner of the "People's Rights Party."

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(TAF)



From King Features Syndicate, 235 East 45th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Editors: The accompanying photos are provided for publication editorially, at your option, with instalments of J. Edgar Hoover's Own Story: Communism in America Today and How to Fight It, from his book, "Masters of Deceit." Caution should be exercised in using other photographs or illustrations with the serialization, to insure that the term "Communist" or any of its synonyms is not associated libelously with any person or persons.

King Features Syndicate.

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1. The signature of the author of "Masters of Deceit." GOOD
2. ~~Latest~~ portrait of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Must credit: FABIAN BACHRACH. ~~Kansh; Ottawa.~~ X
3. J. Edgar Hoover at the entrance to the headquarters of the FBI in Washington. (K.F.S.) C
4. Entrance to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's headquarters in the United States Department of Justice building, Washington. (K.F.S.) C
5. Inside the FBI: A laboratory technician engaged in one of the scores of scientific techniques the FBI employs in dealing with subversive conspirators. The technician is analyzing bomb fragments to determine the type of bomb and obtain clues to its source. (I.N.P. Photo)
6. J. Edgar Hoover sharpening his shooting eye with a submachine gun in the target range at FBI headquarters. X (117)

(K.F.S.)

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Re: Hoover's shooting eye  
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7. J. Edgar Hoover, Director, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, being decorated by President Eisenhower in 1955, for an "outstanding contribution to the national security of the United States." The ceremony took place at the White House in the presence of Vice President Nixon (to the right of the President), Secretary Dulles (right), and other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Hoover was given a second decoration by President Eisenhower in January 1958. (INP Photo)

8. Nicholai Lenin presiding (at head of table) in 1922 over the Communist grand council.

J. Edgar Hoover points out in "Masters of Deceit," "More than any other man Lenin is the 'developer' of modern communism and the father of Party structure and dictatorship. His importance is reflected in the communist description of its way of life as the 'science of Marxism-Leninism.' ... Lenin made Marxism a highly disciplined, organized and ruthless creed. How can revolution be achieved? Not by democratic reforms, ballots, or good will, but by naked, bloody violence... Lenin conceived of the Party as a vehicle of revolution. Marx, in his philosophical abstractions, had never thought out the day-to-day composition of the Party. Lenin did. The Party must be a small, tightly controlled, deeply loyal group. Fanaticism, not members, was the key. They must lie, cheat, and murder if the Party was to be served. No deviations could be permitted.

"Lenin founded the Third International (better known as the Communist International, or Comintern). The Third International was a keystone of Soviet policy, whereby Moscow, through Bolshevik discipline, could guide the activities of communists around the world, including those in the United States ... Lenin proclaimed at the first Congress of the Comintern, 'the victory of the world Communist revolution is assured.' ..."

(I.N.P. Photo)

(Communist)

9. William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow ~~in~~ 1928, ~~the second time~~ ~~the~~ "Workers Party" ~~was~~ candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. Gitlow, who served three years in prison in New York after conviction on charges of criminal anarchy, was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929. He subsequently became an active anti-Communist, and testified for the government in proceedings against subversives. The photograph was made at a mass-meeting staged by the Communists in Madison Square Garden, New York, and broadcast.

(I.N.P. Photo)

(Editors: See side-piece on beginnings of Communist Party in this country, sent you with first week's releases of "Masters of Deceit." KFS).

10. Jay Lovestone in later years. He, an early leader, was "purged" during the struggles in the 1920s in which it was determined that the Communist Party, USA, had to follow Moscow's dictates undeviatingly. In "Masters of Deceit," J. Edgar Hoover says, "Lovestone had been accused of espousing 'American exceptionalism.' By this, the communists had meant that Lovestone viewed American capitalism as something 'exceptional,' not obeying the Marxist-Leninist laws, which teach that capitalism, because of internal contradictions, will decay. Lovestone believed that American capitalism was too strong to follow these Marxist rules."

(I.N.P. Photo)

OK

11. Maxim Litvinoff, first ambassador of Soviet Russia to the United States, in Washington in 1933 with Secretary of State Hull. In effecting the formal diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, Litvinoff pledged that it would be "the fixed policy of the government of the U.S.S.R. (1) To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, and to refrain from interfering in any way in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories, and possessions; (2) To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." The pledge was never kept. (I.N.P. Photo)

12. Earl Browder, in 1950, ~~after he had been ousted as Secretary General of the Communist Party~~ <sup>movement</sup>, because he had "made himself the protagonist of a false concept of the ways of social evolution in general," ~~i.e., of the Communist International~~ <sup>alliance</sup>. The "false concept" of Browder's was envisioning "the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle in the postwar period and of establishing harmony between labor and capital," it was explained by Jacques Duclos, a French Communist leader, after a visit to Moscow.

Browder, a native of Kansas, had been elected Secretary General of the Party in 1930. During the 15 years he was in "power," literally hundreds of organizations, such as the American Youth Congress, American League Against War and Fascism (later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy), the American Peace Mobilization, and the National Negro Congress, came into existence.

"They were created or captured by the communists," J. Edgar Hoover declares in "Masters of Deceit." "All were tailored, through high-sounding names, to attract as many people as possible; the communists had something to offer everybody. The Party during those years moved literally thousands of Americans, causing them, in some way or other, to support the communist cause."  
(I.N.P. Photo)

13. Old and new bosses of the Communist Party, USA: William Z. Foster (left) photographed with Eugene Dennis in Washington in 1947, after Earl Browder was ousted as General Secretary of the Party and Foster regained its reins, with Dennis under him as General Secretary.

Foster dedicated his book, "The Twilight of World Capitalism," published in 1949, "To my Great-Grandson Joseph Manley Kolko who will live in a Communist United States." (I.N.P. Photo)

14. Left to right: James Jackson of Richmond, Va., "educational director" of the Michigan district of the Communist Party, USA; Robert Thompson, Chairman of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party; John Gates, long-time editor of the New York Daily Worker, photographed together in 1947, when the Communist Party set up a war veterans organization and staged a convention in Washington, D.C.

Thompson and Gates were convicted in 1949 of conspiring to "teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the government of the United States by force and violence." <sup>for 1951</sup> When the Supreme Court refused to set aside the conviction, Thompson and three of the other convicted men jumped their \$20,000 bail and went into hiding. Thompson dyed his hair a reddish blonde, grew a mustache, took a false name, acquired false identification documents, and ~~hid out in a cabin~~ <sup>was apprehended at</sup> in the Sierra Nevada Mountains near San Francisco. The FBI tracked him down, established his identity through fingerprints, and insured his being lodged in prison.

Following another of the periodic tests of power in the Party, Gates was ~~removed~~ <sup>removed</sup> from editorship of the Party's principal recognized organ, ~~The Worker~~ <sup>The Worker</sup>. He said he had severed his connection with the Party.

(I.N.P. Photo)

*where it was temporarily discontinued in January, 1958.*

15. General view of the veterans' convention staged by the communists in Washington in 1947, when communists were trying openly to gain influence and power within the veterans' political movements.

(I.N.P. Photo)

16. Eugene Dennis (left), the one-time <sup>General</sup> ~~National~~ Secretary of the Communist Party, and Irving Potash being taken to the Federal penitentiary ~~at Lewisburg, Pa.~~, after conviction in 1949 in a long drawn-out trial before Federal Judge Harold Medina in New York, of teaching and advocating the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence. Potash was an international vice president of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union.

Convicted with Dennis and Potash were John Gates, John B. Williamson, Gilbert Green, Carl Winter, Gus Hall, Benjamin Davis, Jr., Henry Winston, Jacob Stachel, Robert G. Thompson. The FBI had assembled in 1946-1947 a ~~report~~ <sup>brief</sup> running to ~~4,300~~ <sup>more than</sup> pages, of its investigation of the Communist Party and CP leaders, and this led to the indictments under the Smith Act which produced the convictions of the leaders named above. W. Z. Foster escaped trial ~~from~~ through securing a separation of his case from the others on grounds of illness. (New York Mirror Photo)

17. Left to right, next to the Federal marshal: Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn being taken to court after a Federal judge ruled that bonds furnished by the "Civil Rights Congress" for fifteen indicted Communists were unacceptable. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, ran in 1957 for the New York City Council under the emblem of the "People's Rights Party," after communists obtained 3,000 signatures on petitions required by law to place her name on the ballot.

J. Edgar Hoover reveals in "Masters of Deceit" that Betty Gannett was one of the graduates of the Lenin School in Moscow, a training-center for underground and conspiratorial operations and the tactics of revolution and civil war.

Other Lenin School graduates from the United States, identified by Mr. Hoover: Eugene Dennis, Claude Lightfoot, Carl Winter, Simon W Gerson, William Weinstone, Nat Ganley, Steve Nelson, Gus Hall, Albert Lannon, Phil Bart, Rose Wortis, Loretta Stack, Henry Winston.

(I.N.P. Photo)

18. Benjamin Davis, Jr., one of the eleven communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1949, was a member of the New York City Council when convicted. The Council ousted Davis on the ground that the conviction disqualified him. Davis, a native of Dawson, Ga., and son of a former Republican National Committeeman from Georgia, was graduated from Harvard with a law degree. (I.N.P. Photo)

19. Left to right: Whittaker Chambers, the then Rep. Richard M. Nixon, and the House Un-American Affairs Committee investigator Robert E. Stripling, during the investigation which brought to light the Chambers-Hiss affair. FBI agents investigated the charges of Chambers and denials of Hiss and enabled the Federal court to present evidence against Hiss which led to Hiss' conviction of perjury. (I.N.P. Photo)

20. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg on their way to prison after their conviction in 1951 of <sup>ON</sup> ~~violation of the espionage law~~ <sup>conspiracy</sup>, on evidence collected by the FBI. Judge Irving Kaufman in sentencing them to death, declared, "I consider your crime worse than murder. Plain deliberate contemplated murder is dwarfed in magnitude by comparison with the crime you have committed. In committing the act of murder, the criminal kills only his victim...But in your case, I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb, years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb, has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of your country..."

The Rosenbergs were executed at Sing Sing Prison after a great hue and cry of "frame-up" had been raised by the Communist Party through its front organizations, and the case had been reviewed more than sixteen times in Federal courts.

The New York Journal-American, in 1951, revealed the fact that the Rosenbergs had been instrumental in informing Russia, in 1947, of U.S. plans for a moon satellite. (I.N.P. Photo)



21. His toast to tomorrow? When this picture of him was taken, Nikita Khrushchev, who has spent all his adult life as a Communist Party agitator and dictator, was pictured toasting Josef Broz, alias Tito, whose 141,000 Communist Party followers, given arms and supplies during World War II by Great Britain and the United States, took command of Yugoslavia's 14,500,000 people.

In June 1957, when enabled to give his message directly to American TV-viewers through the CBS program "Face the Nation," Khrushchev bragged, "I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism." (SOVFOTO)

22. The Communist Party, USA, is clearly indicated as a section of the Communist International, in this membership book issued in the 1930s. It belonged to a woman who was on the U.S. Government payroll as an employe of the Works Progress Administration. She carried on a "sociological, economic and literary survey" at the College of the City of New York.

(K.F.S.)

23. James W. Ford (left) and Earl Browder, the Communist Party candidates for Vice President and President in 1940, Ford had been ~~on~~ on the ticket with Foster in 1932, ~~following orders from the Communist International.~~

(I.N.P. Photo)

24 View of a parade on May Day 1930 in New York, with many women among the marchers.

(I.N.P. Photo)

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